

THE HISTORIANS OF GREECE

THE OLYMPIC EDITION

This edition is strictly limited to one thousand signed, numbered and registered sets, of which this is

Number 945

Thomas Mathew Shryane

Editor in Chief

The Tandy-Thomas Company.

Publishers





Alcibiades and Socrates

A Scene in the House of Aspasia, from an Engraving by C. L. Courtry after the Painting by Gérôme



The Historians of Greece

Vol. XI

New York
The Tandy-Thomas Company

opyright, 1909, by THE TANDY-THOMAS COMPANY

Florentine Illumination

Thirteenth Century

THE work of the Florentine illuminators shows clearly their indebtedness to the preceding schools. The patterns are, however, much more intricate and the lines much finer. The use of gold is much more profuse, but the colours, though still bright and varied, are used more sparingly. In short, the style shows greater refinement, but less strength. The best example of this school is a copy of Dante's Divine Comedy now in the British Museum (Edgerton MS. 943).

THE HISTORY

OF

XENOPHON

Translated from the Ancient Greek by

HENRY GRAHAM DAKYNS, M. A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND LATE
ASSISTANT MASTER IN CLIFTON COLLEGE

VOLUME IV.

NEW YORK
THE TANDY-THOMAS COMPANY

Copyright, 1909, by
THE TANDY-THOMAS COMPANY

DF
231
X25E
1909
v.4

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Memorabilia or Recollections of Socrates Book III	11
Memorabilia Book IV	81
Cyropædia or Institution of Cyrus Book I	153
Cyropædia Book II	224
Cyropædia Book III	270

919816

ILLUSTRATIONS

ALCIBIADES AND SOCRATES *Frontispiece*
From an Engraving by Courtry after a Painting by Gérôme

ILLUMINATED TITLE-PAGE *Title*
Designed by Walter Tittle after the Florentine School of the Thirteenth Century

PAGE

TWO DIFFERENT BATTERING RAMS 80
After an Etching of the Fifteenth Century in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

CYRUS THE GREAT 152
After an Etching of the Sixteenth Century in the Vatican Library

BESIEGING TOWER WITH DRAWBRIDGES 224
After an Etching of the Eighteenth Century in the British Museum

TERRASSES 270
After an Etching of the Fifteenth Century in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE illustrations of this work have been designed to show the development of book ornamentation. The earliest forms which have survived the ravages of time are the illuminations of the Mediæval manuscripts. This art was the outgrowth of the work of the Ancient Greeks and was in turn the source from which modern book illustration has developed.

With the introduction of printing, wood cut blocks came into use but were rapidly supplanted by etchings, especially for finer work. This process dates from 1477 and held first place for centuries until superseded by steel engravings and finally by modern photographic processes.

Mr. Walter Tittle, who has made a life study of the subject, has designed a series of title-pages for this work. Each of these embodies the salient features of a particular school of Mediæval illumination, thus epitomising the whole history of the art.

The illustrations also include reproductions of a number of rare old etchings of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, showing the Art of War among the Ancients, a number of the finest steel engravings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, and finally some beautiful Twentieth Century photo-mezzotints of celebrated paintings, illustrating the life and customs of the Ancient World.

THE HISTORY OF XENOPHON

MEMORABILIA BOOK III, BOOK IV—CYROPÆDIA BOOK I, BOOK II, BOOK III

THE HISTORY OF XENOPHON

MEMORABILIA

BOOK III

ASPIRANTS to honour and distinction derived similar help from Socrates, who in each case stimulated in them a persevering assiduity towards their several aims, as the following narratives tend to show. He had heard on one occasion of the arrival in Athens of Dionysodorus,[1] who professed to teach the whole duty of a general.[2] Accordingly he remarked to one of those who were with him—a young man whose anxiety to obtain the office of Strategos was no secret to him:

Soc. It would be monstrous on the part of any one who sought to become a general[3] to throw away the slightest opportunity of learning the duties of the office. Such a person, I should say, would deserve to be fined and punished by the state far more than the charlatan who without having learnt the art of a sculp-

[1] Dionysodorus of Chios, presumably.

[2] A professor of the science and art of strategy.

[3] I. e., "head of the war department and commander-in-chief," etc.

tor undertakes a contract to carve a statue. Considering that the whole fortunes of the state are entrusted to the general during a war, with all its incidental peril, it is only reasonable to anticipate that great blessings or great misfortunes will result in proportion to the success or bungling of that officer. I appeal to you, young sir, do you not agree that a candidate who, while taking pains to be elected, neglects to learn the duties of the office, would richly deserve to be fined?

With arguments like these he persuaded the young man to go and take lessons. After he had gone through the course he came back, and Socrates proceeded playfully to banter him.

Soc. Behold our young friend, sirs, as Homer says of Agamemnon, of mien majestical, so he; does he not seem to move more majestically, like one who has studied to be a general? Of course, just as a man who has learned to play the harp is a harper, even if he never touch the instrument, or as one who has studied medicine is a physician, though he does not practise, so our friend here from this time forward is now and ever shall be a general, even though he does not receive a vote at the elections. But the dunce who has not the science is neither general nor doctor, no, not even if the whole world appointed him. But (he proceeded, turning to the youth), in case any of us should ever find

ourselves captain or colonel under you, to give us some smattering of the science of war, what did the professor take as the starting-point of his instruction in generalship? Please inform us.

Then the young man: He began where he ended; he taught me tactics—tactics and nothing else.

Yet surely (replied Socrates) that is only an infinitesimal part of generalship. A general must be ready in furnishing the material of war: in providing the commissariat for his troops; quick in devices, he must be full of practical resource; nothing must escape his eye or tax his endurance; he must be shrewd and ready of wit, a combination at once of clemency and fierceness, of simplicity and of insidious craft; he must play the part of watchman, of robber; now prodigal as a spendthrift, and again close-fisted as a miser, the bounty of his munificence must be equalled by the narrowness of his greed; impregnable in defence, a very dare-devil in attack —these and many other qualities must he possess who is to make a good general and minister of war; they must come to him by gift of nature or through science. No doubt it is a grand thing also to be a tactician, since there is all the difference in the world between an army properly handled in the field and the same in disorder; just as stones and bricks, woodwork and tiles,

tumbled together in a heap are of no use at all, but arrange them in a certain order—at bottom and atop materials which will not crumble or rot, such as stones and earthen tiles, and in the middle between the two put bricks and woodwork, with an eye to architectural principle, and finally you get a valuable possession—to wit, a dwelling-place.

The simile is very apt, Socrates (replied the youth), for in battle, too, the rule is to draw up the best men in front and rear, with those of inferior quality between, where they may be led on by the former and pushed on by the hinder.

Soc. Very good, no doubt, if the professor taught you to distinguish good and bad; but if not, where is the use of your learning? It would scarcely help you, would it, to be told to arrange coins in piles, the best coins at top and bottom, and the worst in the middle, unless you were first taught to distinguish real from counterfeit.

The Youth: Well no, upon my word, he did not teach us that, so that the task of distinguishing between good and bad must devolve on ourselves.

Soc. Well, shall we see, then, how we may best avoid making blunders between them?

I am ready (replied the youth).

Soc. Well then! Let us suppose we are marauders, and the task imposed upon us is to

carry off some bullion; it will be a right disposition of our forces if we place in the vanguard those who are the greediest of gain?

The Youth: I should think so.

Soc. Then what if there is danger to be faced? Shall the vanguard consist of men who are greediest of honour?

The Youth: It is these, at any rate, who will face danger for the sake of praise and glory. Fortunately such people are not hid away in a corner; they shine forth conspicuous everywhere, and are easy to be discovered.

Soc. But tell me, did he teach you how to draw up troops in general, or specifically where and how to apply each particular kind of tactical arrangement?

The Youth: Nothing of the sort.

Soc. And yet there are and must be innumerable circumstances in which the same ordering of march or battle will be out of place.

The Youth: I assure you he did not draw any of these fine distinctions.

He did not, did not he? (he answered). Bless me! Go back to him again, then, and ply him with questions; if he really has the science, and is not lost to all sense of shame, he will blush to have taken your money and then to have sent you away empty.

II.—At another time he fell in with a man

who had been chosen general and minister of war, and thus accosted him.

Soc. Why did Homer, think you, designate Agamemnon "shepherd of the peoples?" Was it possibly to show that, even as a shepherd must care for his sheep and see that they are safe and have all things needful, and that the objects of their rearing be secured, so also must a general take care that his soldiers are safe, and have their supplies, and attain the objects of their soldiering? Which last is that they may get the mastery of their enemies, and so add to their own good fortune and happiness; or tell me, what made him praise Agamemnon, saying:

"He is both a good king and a warrior bold?"[4]

Did he mean, perhaps, to imply that he would be a "warrior bold," not merely in standing alone and bravely battling against the foe, but as inspiring the whole of his host with like prowess; and by a "good king," not merely one who should stand forth gallantly to protect his own life, but who should be the source of happiness to all over whom he reigns? Since a man is not chosen king in order to take heed to himself, albeit nobly, but that those who chose him may attain to happiness through him. And why do men go soldiering except to ameliorate exist-

[4] Il. iii. 179. A favourite line of Alexander the Great's, it is said.

ence? and to this end they choose their generals that they may find in them guides to the goal in question. He, then, who undertakes that office is bound to procure for those who chose him the thing they seek for. And indeed it were not easy to find any nobler ambition than this, or aught ignobler than its opposite.

After such sort he handled the question, what is the virtue of a good leader? and by shredding off all superficial qualities, laid bare as the kernel of the matter that it is the function of every leader to make those happy whom he may be called upon to lead.

III.—The following conversation with a youth who had just been elected hipparch (or commandant of cavalry), I can also vouch for.

Soc. Can you tell us what set you wishing to be a general of cavalry, young sir? What was your object? I suppose it was not simply to ride at the head of the "knights," an honour not denied to the mounted archers, who ride even in front of the generals themselves?

Hipp. You are right.

Soc. No more was it for the sake merely of public notoriety, since a madman might boast of that distinction.

Hipp. You are right again.

Soc. Is this possibly the explanation? you think to improve the cavalry—your aim would

be to hand it over to the state in better condition than you find it; and, if the cavalry chanced to be called out, you at their head would be the cause of some good thing to Athens?

Hipp. Most certainly.

Soc. Well, and a noble ambition too, upon my word—if you can achieve your object. The command to which you are appointed concerns horses and riders, does it not?

Hipp. It does, no doubt.

Soc. Come then, will you explain to us first how you propose to improve the horses?

Hipp. Ah, that will scarcely form part of my business, I fancy. Each trooper is personally responsible for the condition of his horse.

Soc. But suppose, when they present themselves and their horses, you find some have brought beasts with bad feet or legs or otherwise infirm, and others such ill-fed jades that they cannot keep up on the march; others, again, brutes so ill broken and unmanageable that they will not keep their place in the ranks, and others such desperate plungers that they cannot be got to any place in the ranks at all. What becomes of your cavalry force then? How will you charge at the head of such a troop, and win glory for the state?

Hipp. You are right. I will try to look after the horses to my utmost.

Soc. Well, and will you not lay to your hand to improve the men themselves?

Hipp. I will.

Soc. The first thing will be to make them expert in mounting their chargers?

Hipp. That certainly, for if any of them were dismounted he would then have a better chance of saving himself.

Soc. Well, but when it comes to the hazard of engagement, what will you do then? Give orders to draw the enemy down to the sandy ground[5] where you are accustomed to manoeuvre, or endeavour beforehand to put your men through their practice on ground resembling a real battlefield?

Hipp. That would be better, no doubt.

Soc. Well, shall you regard it as a part of your duty to see that as many of your men as possible can take aim and shoot on horseback?

Hipp. It will be better, certainly.

Soc. And have you thought how to whet the courage of your troopers? to kindle in them rage to meet the enemy?—which things are but stimulants to make stout hearts stouter.

Hipp. If I have not done so hitherto, I will try to make up for lost time now.

Soc. And have you troubled your head at all to consider how you are to secure the obedience of your men? for without that not one particle

[5] E. g., the hippodrome at Phaleron.

of good will you get, for all your horses and troopers so brave and so stout.

Hipp. That is a true saying; but how, Socrates, should a man best bring them to this virtue?

Soc. I presume you know that in any business whatever, people are more apt to follow the lead of those whom they look upon as adepts; thus in case of sickness they are readiest to obey him whom they regard as the cleverest physician; and so on a voyage the most skilful pilot; in matters agricultural the best farmer, and so forth.

Hipp. Yes, certainly.

Soc. Then in this matter of the cavalry also we may reasonably suppose that he who is looked upon as knowing his business best will command the readiest obedience.

Hipp. If, then, I can prove to my troopers that I am better than all of them, will that suffice to win their obedience?

Soc. Yes, if along with that you can teach them that obedience to you brings greater glory and surer safety to themselves.

Hipp. How am I to teach them that?

Soc. Upon my word! How are you to teach them that? Far more easily, I take it, than if you had to teach them that bad things are better than good, and more advantageous to boot.

Hipp. I suppose you mean that, besides his

other qualifications, a commandant of cavalry must have command of speech and argument?

Soc. Were you under the impression that the commandant was not to open his mouth? Did it never occur to you that all the noblest things which custom compels us to learn, and to which indeed we owe our knowledge of life, have all been learned by means of speech and reason; and if there be any other noble learning which a man may learn, it is this same reason whereby he learns it; and the best teachers are those who have the freest command of thought and language, and those that have the best knowledge of the most serious things are the most brilliant masters of disputation. Again, have you not observed that whenever this city of ours fits out one of her choruses—such as that, for instance, which is sent to Delos—there is nothing elsewhere from any quarter of the world which can compete with it; nor will you find in any other state collected so fair a flower of manhood as in Athens?

Hipp. You say truly.

Soc. But for all that, it is not in sweetness of voice that the Athenians differ from the rest of the world so much, nor in stature of body or strength of limb, but in ambition and that love of honour which most of all gives a keen edge to the spirit in the pursuit of things lovely and of high esteem.

Hipp. That, too, is a true saying.

Soc. Do you not think, then, that if a man devoted himself to our cavalry also, here in Athens, we should far outstrip the rest of the world, whether in the furnishing of arms and horses, or in orderliness of battle-array, or in eager hazardous encounter with the foe, if only we could persuade ourselves that by so doing we should obtain honour and distinction?

Hipp. It is reasonable to think so.

Soc. Have no hesitation, therefore, but try to guide your men into this path, whence you yourself, and through you your fellow-citizens, will reap advantage.

Yes, in good sooth, I will try (he answered).

IV.—At another time, seeing Nicomachides on his way back from the elections (of magistrates), he asked him. Who are elected generals, Nicomachides?

And he: Is it not just like them, these citizens of Athens—just like them, I say—to go and elect, not me, who ever since my name first appeared on the muster-roll have literally worn myself out with military service—now as a captain, now as colonel—and have received all these wounds from the enemy, look you! (at the same time, and suiting the action to the word, he bared his arms and proceeded to show the scars of ancient wounds),—they elect not me (he

went on), but, if you please, Antisthenes! who never served as a hoplite in his life nor in the cavalry ever made a brilliant stroke, that I ever heard tell of; no! in fact, he has got no science at all, I take it, except to amass stores of wealth.

But still (returned Socrates), surely that is one point in his favour—he ought to be able to provide the troops with supplies.

Nic. Well, for the matter of that, merchants are good hands at collecting stores; but it does not follow that a merchant or trader will be able to command an army.

But (rejoined Socrates) Antisthenes is a man of great pertinacity, who insists on winning, and that is a very necessary quality in a general. Do not you see how each time he has been choragos[6] he has been successful with one chorus after another?

Nic. Bless me! yes; but there is a wide difference between standing at the head of a band of singers and dancers and a troop of soldiers.

Soc. Still, without any practical skill in singing or in the training of a chorus, Antisthenes somehow had the art to select the greatest proficients in both.

Nic. Yes, and by the same reasoning we are to infer that on a campaign he will find pro-

[6] Choir-master, or Director of the Chorus. It was his duty to provide and preside over a chorus to sing, dance, or play at any of the public festivals. defraying the cost as a state service.

ficients, some to marshal the troops for him and others to fight his battles?

Soc. Just so. If in matters military he only exhibits the same skill in selecting the best hands as he has shown in matters of the chorus, it is highly probable he will here also bear away the palm of victory; and we may presume that if he expended so much to win a choric victory with a single tribe,[7] he will be ready to expend more to secure a victory in war with the whole state to back him.

Nic. Do you really mean, Socrates, that it is the function of the same man to provide efficient choruses and to act as commander-in-chief?

Soc. I mean this, that, given a man knows what he needs to provide, and has skill to do so, no matter what the department of things may be—house or city or army—you will find him a good chief and director of the same.

Then Nicomachides: Upon my word, Socrates, I should never have expected to hear you say that a good housekeeper and steward of an estate would make a good general.

Soc. Come then, suppose we examine their respective duties, and so determine whether they are the same or different.

Nic. Let us do so.

Soc. Well then, is it not a common duty of

[7] Each tribe nominated such of its members as were qualified to undertake the burden.

both to procure the ready obedience of those under them to their orders?

Nic. Certainly.

Soc. And also to assign to those best qualified to perform them their distinctive tasks?

That, too, belongs to both alike (he answered).

Soc. Again, to chastise the bad and reward the good belongs to both alike, methinks?

Nic. Decidedly.

Soc. And to win the kindly feeling of their subordinates must surely be the noble ambition of both?

That too (he answered).

Soc. And do you consider it to the interest of both alike to win the adherence of supporters and allies?

Nic. Without a doubt.

Soc. And does it not closely concern them both to be good guardians of their respective charges?

Nic. Very much so.

Soc. Then it equally concerns them both to be painstaking and prodigal of toil in all their doings?

Nic. Yes, all these duties belong to both alike, but the parallel ends when you come to actual fighting.

Soc. Yet they are both sure to meet with enemies?

Nic. There is no doubt about that.

Soc. Then is it not to the interest of both to get the upper hand of these?

Nic. Certainly; but you omit to tell us what service organisation and the art of management will render when it comes to actual fighting.

Soc. Why, it is just then, I presume, it will be of most service, for the good economist knows that nothing is so advantageous or so lucrative as victory in battle, or to put it negatively, nothing so disastrous and expensive as defeat. He will enthusiastically seek out and provide everything conducive to victory, he will painstakingly discover and guard against all that tends to defeat, and when satisfied that all is ready and ripe for victory he will deliver battle energetically, and what is equally important, until the hour of final preparation has arrived, he will be cautious to deliver battle. Do not despise men of economic genius, Nicomachides; the difference between the devotion requisite to private affairs and to affairs of state is merely one of quantity. For the rest the parallel holds strictly, and in this respect pre-eminently, that both are concerned with human instruments: which human beings, moreover, are of one type and temperament, whether we speak of devotion to public affairs or of the administration of private property. To fare well in either case is given to those who know the secret of dealing

with humanity, whereas the absence of that knowledge will as certainly imply in either case a fatal note of discord.

V.—A conversation held with Pericles the son of the great statesman may here be introduced. Socrates began:

I am looking forward, I must tell you, Pericles, to a great improvement in our military affairs when you are minister of war.[8] The prestige of Athens, I hope, will rise; we shall gain the mastery over our enemies.

Pericles replied: I devoutly wish your words might be fulfilled, but how this happy result is to be obtained, I am at a loss to discover.

Shall we (Socrates continued), shall we balance the arguments for and against, and consider to what extent the possibility does exist?

Pray let us do so (he answered).

Soc. Well then, you know that in point of numbers the Athenians are not inferior to the Bœotians?

Per. Yes, I am aware of that.

Soc. And do you think the Bœotians could furnish a better pick of fine healthy men than the Athenians?

Per. I think we should very well hold our own in that respect.

Soc. And which of the two would you take

[8] "Stratêgos."

to be the more united people—the friendlier among themselves?

Per. The Athenians, I should say, for so many sections of the Bœotians, resenting the selfish policy of Thebes, are ill disposed to that power, but at Athens I see nothing of the sort.

Soc. But perhaps you will say that there is no people more jealous of honour or haughtier in spirit. And these feelings are no weak spurs to quicken even a dull spirit to hazard all for glory's sake and fatherland.

Per. Nor is there much fault to find with Athenians in these respects.

Soc. And if we turn to consider the fair deeds of ancestry, to no people besides ourselves belongs so rich a heritage of stimulating memories, whereby so many of us are stirred to pursue virtue with devotion and to show ourselves in our turn also men of valour like our sires.

Per. All that you say, Socrates, is most true, but do you observe that ever since the disaster of the thousand under Tolmides at Lebadeia, coupled with that other under Hippocrates at Delium, the prestige of Athens by comparison with the Bœotians has been lowered, whilst the spirit of Thebes as against Athens has been correspondingly exalted, so that those Bœotians who in old days did not venture to give battle to the Athenians even in their own

territory unless they had the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the Peloponnesians to help them, do nowadays threaten to make an incursion into Attica single-handed and the Athenians, who formerly, if they had to deal with Bœotians only, made havoc of their territory, are now afraid the Bœotians may some day harry Attica.

To which Socrates: Yes, I perceive that this is so, but it seems to me that the state was never more tractably disposed, never so ripe for a really good leader, as to-day. For if boldness be the parent of carelessness, laxity, and insubordination, it is the part of fear to make people more disposed to application, obedience, and good order. A proof of which you may discover in the behaviour of people on ship-board. It is in seasons of calm weather when there is nothing to fear that disorder may be said to reign, but as soon as there is apprehension of storm, or an enemy in sight, the scene changes; not only is each word of command obeyed, but there is a hush of silent expectation; the mariners wait to catch the next signal like an orchestra with eyes upon the leader.

Per. But indeed, given that now is the opportunity to take obedience at the flood, it is high time also to explain by what means we are to rekindle in the hearts of our countrymen the old fires—the passionate longing for antique

valour, for the glory and the wellbeing of the days of old.

Well (proceeded Socrates), supposing we wished them to lay claim to certain material wealth now held by others, we could not better stimulate them to lay hands on the objects coveted than by showing them that these were ancestral possessions to which they had a natural right. But since our object is that they should set their hearts on virtuous pre-eminence, we must prove to them that such headship combined with virtue is an old time-honoured heritage which pertains to them beyond all others, and that if they strive earnestly after it they will soon out-top the world.

Per. How are we to inculcate this lesson?

Soc. I think by reminding them of a fact already registered in their minds, that the oldest of our ancestors whose names are known to us were also the bravest of heroes.

Per. I suppose you refer to that judgment of the gods which, for their virtue's sake, Cecrops and his followers were called on to decide?

Soc. Yes, I refer to that and to the birth and rearing of Erechtheus, and also to the war which in his days was waged to stay the tide of invasion from the whole adjoining continent; and that other war in the days of the Heraclidæ[9] against the men of Peloponnese; and

[9] Commonly spoken of as "the Return."

that series of battles fought in the days of Theseus[1]—in all which the virtuous pre-eminence of our ancestry above the men of their own times was made manifest. Or, if you please, we may come down to things of a later date, which their descendants and the heroes of days not so long anterior to our own wrought in the struggle with the lords of Asia,[2] nay of Europe also, as far as Macedonia: a people possessing a power and means of attack far exceeding any who had gone before—who, moreover, had accomplished the doughtiest deeds. These things the men of Athens wrought partly single-handed,[3] and partly as sharers with the Peloponnesians in laurels won by land and sea. Heroes were these men also, far outshining, as tradition tells us, the peoples of their time.

Per. Yes, so runs the story of their heroism.

Soc. Therefore it is that, amidst the many changes of inhabitants and the migrations which, wave after wave, swept over Hellas, these maintained themselves in their own land, unmoved; so that it was a common thing for others to turn to them as to a court of appeal on points of right, or to flee to Athens as a harbour of refuge from the hand of the oppressor.

Then Pericles: And the wonder to me, Socrates, is how our city ever came to decline.

[1] Against the Amazons and Thracians.
[2] The "Persian" wars.
[3] He omits the Platæans.

Soc. I think we are victims of our own success. Like some athlete, whose facile preponderance in the arena has betrayed him into laxity until he eventually succumbs to punier antagonists, so we Athenians, in the plenitude of our superiority, have neglected ourselves and are become degenerate.

Per. What then ought we to do now to recover our former virtue?

Soc. There need be no mystery about that, I think. We can rediscover the institutions of our forefathers—applying them to the regulation of our lives with something of their precision, and not improbably with like success; or we can imitate those who stand at the front of affairs to-day,[4] adapting to ourselves their rule of life, in which case, if we live up to the standard of our models, we may hope at least to rival their excellence, or, by a more conscientious adherence to what they aim at, rise superior.

You would seem to suggest (he answered) that the spirit of beautiful and brave manhood has taken wings and left our city; as, for instance, when will Athenians, like the Lacedæmonians, reverence old age—the Athenian, who takes his own father as a starting-point for the contempt he pours upon grey hairs? When will he pay as strict an attention to the body, who is not content with neglecting a good habit, but laughs to scorn those who are careful in the

[4] Sc. the Lacedæmonians.

matter? When shall we Athenians so obey our magistrates—we who take a pride, as it were, in despising authority? When, once more, shall we be united as a people—we who, instead of combining to promote common interests, delight in blackening each other's characters, envying one another more than we envy all the world besides; and—which is our worst failing—who, in private and public intercourse alike, are torn by dissension and are caught in a maze of litigation, and prefer to make capital out of our neighbours' difficulties rather than to render mutual assistance? To make our conduct consistent, indeed, we treat our national interests no better than if they were the concerns of some foreign state; we make them bones of contention to wrangle over, and rejoice in nothing so much as in possessing means and ability to indulge these tastes. From this hotbed is engendered in the state a spirit of blind folly and cowardice, and in the hearts of the citizens spreads a tangle of hatred and mutual hostility which, as I often shudder to think, will some day cause some disaster to befall the state greater than it can bear.[5]

Do not (replied Socrates), do not, I pray you, permit yourself to believe that the Athenians are smitten with so incurable a depravity.

[5] Possibly the author is thinking of the events of 406, 405 B. C. (see Hell. I. vii. and II.), and history may repeat itself.

Do you not observe their discipline in all naval matters? Look at their prompt and orderly obedience to the superintendents at the gymnastic contests,[6] their quite unrivalled subservience to their teachers in the training of our choruses.

Yes (he answered), there's the wonder of it; to think that all those good people should so obey their leaders, but that our hoplites and our cavalry, who may be supposed to rank before the rest of the citizens in excellence of manhood, should be so entirely unamenable to discipline.

Then Socrates: Well, but the council which sits on Areopagos is composed of citizens of approved character, is it not?

Certainly (he answered).

Soc. Then can you name any similar body, judicial or executive, trying cases or transacting other business with greater honour, stricter legality, higher dignity, or more impartial justice?

No, I have no fault to find on that score (he answered).

Soc. Then we ought not to despair as though all sense of orderliness and good discipline had died out of our countrymen.

Still (he answered), if it is not to harp upon one string, I maintain that in military service,

[6] Epistatai, i. e., stewards and training-masters.

where, if anywhere, sobriety and temperance, orderliness and good discipline are needed, none of these essentials receives any attention.

May it not perhaps be (asked Socrates) that in this department they are officered by those who have the least knowledge? Do you not notice, to take the case of harp-players, choric performers, dancers, and the like, that no one would ever dream of leading if he lacked the requisite knowledge? and the same holds of wrestlers or pancratiasts.

Moreover, while in these cases any one in command can tell you where he got the elementary knowledge of what he presides over, most generals are amateurs and improvisers. I do not at all suppose that you are one of that sort. I believe you could give as clear an account of your schooling in strategy as you could in the matter of wrestling. No doubt you have got at first hand many of your father's "rules for generalship," which you carefully preserve, besides having collected many others from every quarter whence it was possible to pick up any knowledge which would be of use to a future general. Again, I feel sure you are deeply concerned to escape even unconscious ignorance of anything which will be serviceable to you in so high an office; and if you detect in yourself any ignorance, you turn to those who have knowledge in these matters (sparing neither gifts nor

gratitude) to supplement your ignorance by their knowledge and to secure their help.

To which Pericles: I am not so blind, Socrates, as to imagine you say these words under the idea that I am truly so careful in these matters; but rather your object is to teach me that the would-be general must make such things his care. I admit in any case all you say.

Socrates proceeded: Has it ever caught your observation, Pericles, that a high mountain barrier stretches like a bulwark in front of our country down towards Bœotia—cleft, moreover, by narrow and precipitous passes, the only avenues into the heart of Attica, which lies engulfed by a ring of natural fortresses?[7]

Per. Certainly I have.

Soc. Well, and have you ever heard tell of the Mysians and Pisidians living within the territory of the great king, who, inside their mountain fortresses, lightly armed, are able to rush down and inflict much injury on the king's territory by their raids, while preserving their own freedom?

Per. Yes, the circumstance is not new to me.

And do you not think (added Socrates) that a corps of young able-bodied Athenians, accoutred with lighter arms, and holding our natural mountain rampart in possession, would

[7] The mountains are Cithæron and Parnes N., and Cerata N. W.

prove at once a thorn in the enemy's side offensively, whilst defensively they would form a splendid bulwark to protect the country?

To which Pericles: I think, Socrates, these would be all useful measures, decidedly.

If, then (replied Socrates), these suggestions meet your approbation, try, O best of men, to realise them,—if you can carry out a portion of them, it will be an honour to yourself and a blessing to the state; while, if you fail in any point, there will be no damage done to the city nor discredit to yourself.

VI.—Glaucon,[8] the son of Ariston, had conceived such an ardour to gain the headship of the state that nothing could hinder him but he must deliver a course of public speeches, though he had not yet reached the age of twenty. His friends and relations tried in vain to stop him making himself ridiculous and being dragged down from the bema.[9] Socrates, who took a kindly interest in the youth for the sake of Charmides[1] the son of Glaucon, and of Plato,

[8] Glaucon, brother of Plato the philosopher.

[9] Plato tells us: "And if some person offers to give them advice who is not supposed by them to have any skill in the art [sc. of politics], even though he be good-looking, and rich, and noble, they will not listen to him, but laugh at him, and hoot him, until either he is clamoured down and retires of himself; or if he persist, he is dragged away or put out by the constables at the command of the prytanes."

[1] Charmides was maternal uncle of Plato and Glaucon, and cousin of Critias.

alone succeeded in restraining him. It happened thus. He fell in with him, and first of all, to get him to listen, detained him by some such remarks as the following:

Ah, Glaucon (he exclaimed), so you have determined to become prime minister?

Glauc. Yes, Socrates, I have.

Soc. And what a noble aim! if aught human ever deserved to be called noble; since if you succeed in your design, it follows, as the night the day, you will be able not only to gratify your every wish, but you will be in a position to benefit your friends, you will raise up your father's house, you will exalt your fatherland, you will become a name thrice famous in the city first, and next in Hellas, and lastly even among barbarians perhaps, like Themistocles; but be it here or be it there, wherever you be, you will be the observed of all beholders.

The heart of Glaucon swelled with pride as he drank in the words, and gladly he stayed to listen.

Presently Socrates proceeded: Then this is clear, Glaucon, is it not? that you must needs benefit the city, since you desire to reap her honours?

Glauc. Undoubtedly.

Then, by all that is sacred (Socrates continued), do not keep us in the dark, but tell us in what way do you propose first to benefit the

state? what is your starting-point? When Glaucon remained with sealed lips, as if he were now for the first time debating what this starting-point should be, Socrates continued: I presume, if you wished to improve a friend's estate, you would endeavour to do so by adding to its wealth, would you not? So here, maybe, you will try to add to the wealth of the state?

Most decidedly (he answered).

Soc. And we may take it the state will grow wealthier in proportion as her revenues increase?

Glauc. That seems probable, at any rate.

Soc. Then would you kindly tell us from what sources the revenues of the state are at present derived, and what is their present magnitude? No doubt you have gone carefully into the question, so that if any of these are failing you may make up the deficit, or if neglected for any reason, make some new provision.

Glauc. Nay, to speak the truth, these are matters I have not thoroughly gone into.

Never mind (he said) if you have omitted the point; but you might oblige us by running through the items or heads of expenditure. Obviously you propose to remove all those which are superfluous?

Glauc. Well, no. Upon my word I have not had time to look into that side of the matter either as yet.

Soc. Then we will postpone for the present the problem of making the state wealthier; obviously without knowing the outgoings and the incomings it would be impossible to deal with the matter seriously.

But, Socrates (Glaucon remarked), it is possible to enrich the state out of the pockets of her enemies!

Yes, to be sure, considerably (answered Socrates), in the event of getting the better of them; but in the event of being worsted, it is also possible to lose what we have got.

A true observation (he replied).

And therefore (proceeded Socrates), before he makes up his mind with what enemy to go to war, a statesman should know the relative powers of his own city and the adversary's, so that, in case the superiority be on his own side, he may throw the weight of his advice into the scale of undertaking war; but if the opposite he may plead in favour of exercising caution.

You are right (he answered).

Soc. Then would you for our benefit enumerate the land and naval forces first of Athens and then of our opponents?

Glauc. Pardon me. I could not tell you them off-hand at a moment's notice.

Or (added Socrates), if you have got the figures on paper, you might produce them. I

cannot tell how anxious I am to hear your statement.

Glauc. No, I assure you, I have not got them even on paper yet.

Soc. Well then, we will defer tendering advice on the topic of peace or war, in a maiden speech at any rate. I can understand that, owing to the magnitude of the questions, in these early days of your ministry you have not yet fully examined them. But come, I am sure that you have studied the defences of the country, at all events, and you know exactly how many forts and outposts are serviceable and how many are not; you can tell us which garrisons are strong enough and which defective; and you are prepared to throw in the weight of your advice in favour of increasing the serviceable outposts and sweeping away those that are superfluous?

Glauc. Yes, sweep them all away, that's my advice; for any good that is likely to come of them! Defences indeed! so maintained that the property of the rural districts is simply pilfered.

But suppose you sweep away the outposts (he asked), may not something worse, think you, be the consequence? will not sheer plundering be free to any ruffian who likes? . . . But may I ask is this judgment the result of personal inspection? have you gone yourself and

examined the defences? or how do you know that they are all maintained as you say?

Glauc. I conjecture that it is so.

Soc. Well then, until we have got beyond the region of conjecture shall we defer giving our advice on the matter? (It will be time enough when we know the facts.)

Possibly it would be better to wait till then (replied Glaucon).

Soc. Then there are the mines, but, of course, I am aware that you have not visited them in person, so as to be able to say why they are less productive than formerly.

Well, no; I have never been there myself (he answered).

Soc. No, Heaven help us! an unhealthy district by all accounts; so that, when the moment for advice on that topic arrives, you will have an excuse ready to hand.

I see you are making fun of me (Glaucon answered).

Soc. Well, but here is a point, I am sure, which you have not neglected. No, you will have gone thoroughly into it, and you can tell us. For how long a time could the corn supplies from the country districts support the city? how much is requisite for a single year, so that the city may not run short of this prime necessary, before you are well aware; but on the contrary you with your full knowledge will

be in a position to give advice on so vital a question, to the aid or may be the salvation of your country?

It is a colossal business this (Glaucon answered), if I am to be obliged to give attention to all these details.

Soc. On the other hand, a man could not even manage his own house or his estate well, without, in the first place, knowing what he requires, and, in the second place, taking pains, item by item, to supply his wants. But since this city consists of more than ten thousand houses, and it is not easy to pay minute attention to so many all at once, how is it you did not practise yourself by trying to augment the resources of one at any rate of these—I mean your own uncle's? The service would not be thrown away. Then if your strength suffices in the single case you might take in hand a larger number; but if you fail to relieve one, how could you possibly hope to succeed with many? How absurd for a man, if he cannot carry half a hundredweight, to attempt to carry a whole!

Glauc. Nay, for my part, I am willing enough to assist my uncle's house, if my uncle would only be persuaded to listen to my advice.

Soc. Then, when you cannot persuade your uncle, do you imagine you will be able to make the whole Athenian people, uncle and all, obey you? Be careful, Glaucon (he added), lest in

your thirst for glory and high repute you come to the opposite. Do you not see how dangerous it is for a man to speak or act beyond the range of his knowledge? To take the cases known to you of people whose conversation or conduct clearly transcends these limits: should you say they gain more praise or more blame on that account? Are they admired the rather or despised? Or, again, consider those who do know what they say and what they do; and you will find, I venture to say, that in every sort of undertaking those who enjoy repute and admiration belong to the class of those endowed with the highest knowledge; whilst conversely the people of sinister reputation, the mean and the contemptible, emanate from some depth of ignorance and dulness. If therefore what you thirst for is repute and admiration as a statesman, try to make sure of one accomplishment: in other words, the knowledge as far as in you lies of what you wish to do.[2] If, indeed, with this to distinguish you from the rest of the world you venture to concern yourself with state affairs, it would not surprise me but that you might reach the goal of your ambition easily.

VII.—Now Charmides, the son of Glaucon, was, as Socrates observed, a man of mark and

[2] Or, "try as far as possible to achieve one thing, and that is to know the business which you propose to carry out."

influence: a much more powerful person in fact than the mass of those devoted to politics at that date, but at the same time he was a man who shrank from approaching the people or busying himself with the concerns of the state. Accordingly Socrates addressed him thus:

Tell me, Charmides, supposing some one competent to win a victory in the arena and to receive a crown,[3] whereby he will gain honour himself and make the land of his fathers more glorious in Hellas, were to refuse to enter the lists—what kind of person should you set him down to be?

Clearly an effeminate and cowardly fellow (he answered).

Soc. And what if another man, who had it in him, by devotion to affairs of state, to exalt his city and win honour himself thereby, were to shrink and hesitate and hang back—would he too not reasonably be regarded as a coward?

Possibly (he answered); but why do you address these questions to me?

Because (replied Socrates) I think that you, who have this power, do hesitate to devote yourself to matters which, as being a citizen, if for no other reason, you are bound to take part in.

Charm. And wherein have you detected in

[3] In some conquest (e. g., of the Olympic games) where the prize is a mere wreath.

me this power, that you pass so severe a sentence upon me?

Soc. I have detected it plainly enough in those gatherings in which you meet the politicians of the day, when, as I observe, each time they consult you an any point you have always good advice to offer, and when they make a blunder you lay your finger on the weak point immediately.

Charm. To discuss and reason in private is one thing, Socrates, to battle in the throng of the assembly is another.

Soc. And yet a man who can count, counts every bit as well in a crowd as when seated alone by himself; and it is the best performer on the harp in private who carries off the palm of victory in public.

Charm. But do you not see that modesty and timidity are feelings implanted in man's nature? and these are much more powerfully present to us in a crowd than within the circle of our intimates.

Soc. Yes, but what I am bent upon teaching you is that while you feel no such bashfulness and timidity before the wisest and strongest of men, you are ashamed of opening your lips in the midst of weaklings and dullards. Is it the fullers among them of whom you stand in awe, or the cobblers, or the carpenters, or the coppersmiths, or the merchants, or the

farmers, or the hucksters of the market-place exchanging their wares, and bethinking them how they are to buy this thing cheap and to sell the other dear—is it before these you are ashamed, for these are the individual atoms out of which the Public Assembly is composed? And what is the difference, pray, between your behaviour and that of a man who, being the superior of trained athletes, quails before a set of amateurs? Is it not the case that you who can argue so readily with the foremost statesmen in the city, some of whom affect to look down upon you—you, with your vast superiority over practised popular debaters—are no sooner confronted with a set of folk who never in their lives gave politics a thought, and into whose heads certainly it never entered to look down upon you—than you are afraid to open your lips in mortal terror of being laughed at?

Well, but you would admit (he answered) that sound argument does frequently bring down the ridicule of the Popular Assembly.

Soc. Which is equally true of the others.[4] And that is just what rouses my astonishment, that you who can cope so easily with these lordly people (when guilty of ridicule) should persuade yourself that you cannot stand up against a set of commoners. My good fellow,

[4] I. e., "the foremost statesmen" mentioned before.

do not be ignorant of yourself! do not fall into that commonest of errors—theirs who rush off to investigate the concerns of the rest of the world, and have no time to turn and examine themselves. Yet that is a duty which you must not in cowardly sort draw back from: rather must you brace yourself to give good heed to your own self; and as to public affairs, if by any manner of means they may be improved through you, do not neglect them. Success in the sphere of politics means that not only the mass of your fellow-citizens, but your personal friends and you yourself last but not least, will profit by your action.

VIII.—Once when Aristippus set himself to subject Socrates to a cross-examination, such as he had himself undergone at the hands of Socrates on a former occasion, Socrates, being minded to benefit those who were with him, gave his answers less in the style of a debater guarding against perversions of his argument, than of a man persuaded of the supreme importance of right conduct.

Aristippus asked him "if he knew of anything good," intending in case he assented and named any particular good thing like food, or drink, or wealth, or health, or strength, or courage, to point out that the thing named was sometimes bad. But he, knowing that if a thing

troubles us, we immediately want that which will put an end to our trouble, answered precisely as it was best to do.[5]

Soc. Do I understand you to ask me whether I know anything good for fever?

No (he replied), that is not my question.

Soc. Then for inflammation of the eyes?

Aristip. No, nor yet that.

Soc. Well then, for hunger?

Aristip. No, nor yet for hunger.

Well, but (answered Socrates) if you ask me whether I know of any good thing which is good for nothing, I neither know of it nor want to know.

And when Aristippus, returning to the charge, asked him "if he knew of any thing beautiful,"

He answered: Yes, many things.

Aristip. Are they all like each other?

Soc. On the contrary, they are often as unlike as possible.

How then (he asked) can that be beautiful which is unlike the beautiful?

Soc. Bless me! for the simple reason that it is possible for a man who is a beautiful runner to be quite unlike another man who is a beautiful boxer, or for a shield, which is a beautiful weapon for the purpose of defence, to be abso-

[5] Or, "made the happiest answer."

lutely unlike a javelin, which is a beautiful weapon of swift and sure discharge.

Aristip. Your answers are no better now than when I asked you whether you knew any good thing. They are both of a pattern.

Soc. And so they should be. Do you imagine that one thing is good and another beautiful? Do not you know that relatively to the same standard all things are at once beautiful and good? In the first place, virtue is not a good thing relatively to one standard and a beautiful thing relatively to another standard; and in the next place, human beings, on the same principle and relatively to the same standard, are called "beautiful and good;" and so the bodily frames of men relatively to the same standards are seen to be "beautiful and good," and in general all things capable of being used by man are regarded as at once beautiful and good relatively to the same standard—the standard being in each case what the things happen to be useful for.

Aristip. Then I presume even a basket for carrying dung is a beautiful thing?

Soc. To be sure, and a spear of gold an ugly thing, if for their respective uses—the former is well and the latter ill adapted.

Aristip. Do you mean to assert that the same things may be beautiful and ugly?

Soc. Yes, to be sure; and by the same show-

ing things may be good and bad: as, for instance, what is good for hunger may be bad for fever, and what is good for fever bad for hunger; or again, what is beautiful for wrestling is often ugly for running; and in general everything is good and beautiful when well adapted for the end in view, bad and ugly when ill adapted for the same.

Similarly when he spoke about houses, and argued that "the same house must be at once beautiful and useful"—I could not help feeling that he was giving a good lesson on the problem: "how a house ought to be built." He investigated the matter thus:

Soc. "Do you admit that any one purposing to build a perfect house will plan to make it at once as pleasant and as useful to live in as possible?" and that point being admitted, the next question would be:

"It is pleasant to have one's house cool in summer and warm in winter, is it not?" and this proposition also having obtained assent, "Now, supposing a house to have a southern aspect, sunshine during winter will steal in under the verandah,[6] but in summer, when the sun traverses a path right over our heads, the roof will afford an agreeable shade, will it not? If, then, such an arrangement is desirable, the southern side of a house should be built higher

[6] Or, "porticoes" or "colonnade."

to catch the rays of the winter sun, and the northern side lower to prevent the cold winds finding ingress; in a word, it is reasonable to suppose that the pleasantest and most beautiful dwelling-place will be one in which the owner can at all seasons of the year find the pleasantest retreat, and stow away his goods with the greatest security."

Paintings and ornamental mouldings are apt (he said) to deprive one of more joy than they confer.

The fittest place for a temple or an altar (he maintained) was some site visible from afar, and untrodden by the foot of man:[7] since it was a glad thing for the worshipper to lift up his eyes afar off and offer up his orison; glad also to wend his way peacefully to prayer unsullied.

IX.—Being again asked by some one: could courage be taught, or did it come by nature? he answered: I imagine that just as one body is by nature stronger than another body to encounter toils, so one soul by nature grows more robust than another soul in face of dangers. Certainly I do note that people brought up under the same condition of laws and customs differ greatly in respect of daring. Still my

[7] E. g., the summit of Lycabettos, or the height on which stands the temple of Phygaleia.

belief is that by learning and practice the natural aptitude may always be strengthened towards courage. It is clear, for instance, that Scythians or Thracians would not venture to take shield and spear and contend with Lacedæmonians; and it is equally evident that Lacedæmonians would demur to entering the lists of battle against Thracians if limited to their light shields and javelins, or against Scythians without some weapon more familiar than their bows and arrows. And as far as I can see, this principle holds generally: the natural differences of one man from another may be compensated by artificial progress, the result of care and attention. All which proves clearly that whether nature has endowed us with keener or blunter sensibilities, the duty of all alike is to learn and practise those things in which we would fain achieve distinction.

Between wisdom and sobriety of soul (which is temperance) he drew no distinction. Was a man able on the one hand to recognise things beautiful and good sufficiently to live in them? Had he, on the other hand, knowledge of the "base and foul" so as to beware of them? If so, Socrates judged him to be wise at once and sound of soul (or temperate).

And being further questioned whether "he considered those who have the knowledge of right action, but do not apply it, to be wise and

self-controlled?"—"Not a whit more," he answered, "than I consider them to be unwise and intemperate. Every one, I conceive, deliberately chooses what, within the limits open to him, he considers most conducive to his interest, and acts accordingly. I must hold therefore that those who act against rule and crookedly are neither wise nor self-controlled."

He said that justice, moreover, and all other virtue is wisdom. That is to say, things just, and all things else that are done with virtue, are "beautiful and good"; and neither will those who know these things deliberately choose aught else in their stead; nor will he who lacks the special knowledge of them be able to do them, but even if he makes the attempt he will miss the mark and fail. So the wise alone can perform the things which are "beautiful and good"; they that are unwise cannot, but even if they try they fail. Therefore, since all things just, and generally all things "beautiful and good," are wrought with virtue, it is clear that justice and all other virtue is wisdom.

On the other hand, madness (he maintained) was the opposite to wisdom; not that he regarded simple ignorance as madness, but he put it thus: for a man to be ignorant of himself, to imagine and suppose that he knows what he knows not, was (he argued), if not madness itself, yet something very like it. The mass of

men no doubt hold a different language: if a man is all abroad on some matter of which the mass of mankind are ignorant, they do not pronounce him "mad"; but a like aberration of mind, if only it be about matters within the scope of ordinary knowledge, they call madness. For instance, any one who imagined himself too tall to pass under a gateway of the Long Wall without stooping, or so strong as to try to lift a house, or to attempt any other obvious impossibility, is a madman according to them; but in the popular sense he is not mad, if his obliquity is confined to small matters. In fact, just as strong desire goes by the name of passion in popular parlance, so mental obliquity on a grand scale is entitled madness.

In answer to the question: what is envy? he discovered it to be a certain kind of pain; not certainly the sorrow felt at the misfortunes of a friend or the good fortune of an enemy—that is not envy; but, as he said, "envy is felt by those alone who are annoyed at the successes of their friends." And when some one or other expressed astonishment that any one friendlily disposed to another should be pained at his well-doing, he reminded him of a common tendency in people: when any one is faring ill their sympathies are touched, they rush to the aid of the unfortunate; but when fortune smiles on others, they are somehow pained. "I do not say," he

added, "this could happen to a thoughtful person; but it is no uncommon condition of a silly mind."

In answer to the question: what is leisure? I discover (he said) that most men do something: for instance, the dice player, the gambler, the buffoon, do something, but these have leisure; they can, if they like, turn and do something better; but nobody has leisure to turn from the better to the worse, and if he does so turn, when he has no leisure, he does but ill in that.

(To pass to another definition.) They are not kings or rulers (he said) who hold the sceptre merely, or are chosen by fellows out of the street,[8] or are appointed by lot, or have stepped into office by violence or by fraud; but those who have the special knowledge how to rule. Thus having won the admission that it is the function of a ruler to enjoin what ought to be done, and of those who are ruled to obey, he proceeded to point out by instances that in a ship the ruler or captain is the man of special knowledge, to whom, as an expert, the shipowner himself and all the others on board obey. So likewise, in the matter of husbandry, the proprietor of an estate; in that of sickness, the patient; in that of physical training of the body, the youthful athlete going through a course; and, in general, every one directly concerned in

[8] Tom, Dick, and Harry (as we say).

any matter needing attention and care will either attend to this matter personally, if he thinks he has the special knowledge; or, if he mistrusts his own science, will be eager to obey any expert on the spot, or will even send and fetch one from a distance. The guidance of this expert he will follow, and do what he has to do at his dictation.

And thus, in the art of spinning wool, he liked to point out that women are the rulers of men—and why? because they have the knowledge of the art, and men have not.

And if any one raised the objection that a tyrant has it in his power not to obey good and correct advice, he would retort: "Pray, how has he the option not to obey, considering the penalty hanging over him who disobeys the words of wisdom? for whatever the matter be in which he disobeys the word of good advice, he will fall into error, I presume, and falling into error, be punished." And to the suggestion that the tyrant could, if he liked, cut off the head of the man of wisdom, his answer was: "Do you think that he who destroys his best ally will go scot free, or suffer a mere slight and passing loss? Is he more likely to secure his salvation that way, think you, or to compass his own swift destruction?"

When some one asked him: "What he regarded as the best pursuit or business for a

man?" he answered: "Successful conduct;" and to a second question: "Did he then regard good fortune as an end to be pursued?"—"On the contrary," he answered, "for myself, I consider fortune and conduct to be diametrically opposed. For instance, to succeed in some desirable course of action without seeking to do so, I hold to be good fortune; but to do a thing well by dint of learning and practice, that according to my creed is successful conduct, and those who make this the serious business of their life seem to me to do well."

They are at once the best and the dearest in the sight of God (he went on to say) who for instance in husbandry do well the things of farming, or in the art of healing all that belongs to healing, or in statecraft the affairs of state; whereas the man who does nothing well—nor well in anything—is (he added) neither good for anything nor dear to God.

X.—But indeed, if chance brought him into conversation with any one possessed of an art, and using it for daily purposes of business, he never failed to be useful to this kind of person. For instance, stepping one time into the studio of Parrhasius[9] the painter, and getting into conversation with him—

[9] Parrhasius of Ephesus, the son of Evenor and rival of Zeuxis. At the date of the conversation (real or ideal) he may be supposed to have been a young man.

I suppose, Parrhasius (said he), painting may be defined as "a representation of visible objects," may it not? That is to say, by means of colours and palette you painters represent and reproduce as closely as possible the ups and downs, lights and shadows, hard and soft, rough and smooth surfaces, the freshness of youth and the wrinkles of age, do you not?

You are right (he answered), that is so.

Soc.: Further, in portraying ideal types of beauty, seeing it is not easy to light upon any one human being who is absolutely devoid of blemish, you cull from many models the most beautiful traits of each, and so make your figures appear completely beautiful?

Parrh.: Yes, that is how we do.

Well, but stop (Socrates continued); do you also pretend to represent in similar perfection the characteristic moods of the soul, its captivating charm and sweetness, with its deep wells of love, its intensity of yearning, its burning point of passion? or is all this quite incapable of being depicted?

Nay (he answered), how should a mood be other than inimitable, Socrates, when it possesses neither linear proportion nor colour, nor any of those qualities which you named just now; when, in a word, it is not even visible?

Soc.: Well, but the kindly look of love, the

angry glance of hate at any one, do find expression in the human subject, do they not?

Parrh.: No doubt they do.

Soc.: Then this look, this glance, at any rate may be imitated in the eyes, may it not?

Undoubtedly (he answered).

Soc.: And do anxiety and relief of mind occasioned by the good or evil fortune of those we love both wear the same expression?

By no means (he answered); at the thought of good we are radiant, at that of evil a cloud hangs on the brow.

Soc.: Then here again are looks which it is possible to represent?

Parrh.: Decidedly.

Soc.: Furthermore, as through some chink or crevice, there pierces through the countenance of a man, through the very posture of his body as he stands or moves, a glimpse of his nobility and freedom, or again of something in him low and grovelling—the calm of self-restraint and wisdom, or the swagger of insolence and vulgarity?

You are right (he answered).

Soc.: Then these too may be imitated?

No doubt (he said).

Soc.: And which is the pleasanter type of face to look at, do you think—one on which is imprinted the characteristics of a beautiful, good, and lovable disposition, or one which

bears the impress of what is ugly, and bad, and hateful?

Parrh.: Doubtless, Socrates, there is a vast distinction between the two.

At another time he entered the workshop of the sculptor Cleiton,[1] and in course of conversation with him said:

You have a gallery of handsome people here, Cleiton, runners, and wrestlers, and boxers, and pancratiasts—that I see and know; but how do you give the magic touch of life to your creations, which most of all allures the soul of the beholder through his sense of vision?

As Cleiton stood perplexed, and did not answer at once, Socrates added: Is it by closely imitating the forms of living beings that you succeed in giving that touch of life to your statues?

No doubt (he answered).

Soc.: It is, is it not, by faithfully copying the various muscular contractions of the body in obedience to the play of gesture and poise, the wrinklings of flesh and the sprawl of limbs, the tensions and the relaxations, that you succeed in making your statues like real beings—make them "breathe" as people say?

Cleit.: Without a doubt.

Soc.: And does not the faithful imitation of

[1] An unknown artist. He excelled in portrait statues.

the various affections of the body when engaged in any action impart a particular pleasure to the beholder?

Cleit.: I should say so.

Soc.: Then the threatenings in the eyes of warriors engaged in battle should be carefully copied, or again you should imitate the aspect of a conqueror radiant with success?

Cleit.: Above all things.

Soc.: It would seem then that the sculptor is called upon to incorporate in his ideal form the workings and energies also of the soul?

Paying a visit to Pistias, the corselet maker, when that artist showed him some exquisite samples of his work, Socrates exclaimed:

By Hêra! a pretty invention this, Pistias, by which you contrive that the corselet should cover the parts of the person which need protection, and at the same time leave free play to the arms and hands. . . . But tell me, Pistias (he added), why do you ask a higher price for these corselets of yours if they are not stouter or made of costlier material than others?

Because, Socrates (he answered), mine are of much finer proportion.

Soc.: Proportion! Then how do you make this quality apparent to the customer so as to justify the higher price—by measure or weight? For I presume you cannot make them all ex-

actly equal and of one pattern—if you make them fit, as of course you do?

Fit indeed! that I most distinctly do (he answered), take my word for it: no use in a corselet without that.

But then are not the wearers' bodies themselves (asked Socrates) some well proportioned and others ill?

Decidedly so (he answered).

Soc.: Then how do you manage to make the corselet well proportioned if it is to fit an ill-proportioned body?

Pist.: To the same degree exactly as I make it fit. What fits is well proportioned.

Soc.: It seems you use the term "well-proportioned" not in an absolute sense, but in reference to the wearer, just as you might describe a shield as well proportioned to the individual it suits; and so of a military cloak, and so of the rest of things, in your terminology? But maybe there is another considerable advantage in this "fitting?"

Pist.: Pray instruct me, Socrates, if you have got an idea.

Soc.: A corselet which fits is less galling by its weight than one which does not fit, for the latter must either drag from the shoulders with a dead weight or press upon some other part of the body, and so it becomes troublesome and uncomfortable; but that which fits, having its

weight distributed partly along the collar-bone and shoulder-blade, partly over the shoulders and chest, and partly the back and belly, feels like another natural integument rather than an extra load to carry.

Pist.: You have named the very quality which gives my work its exceptional value, as I consider; still there are customers, I am bound to say, who look for something else in a corselet —they must have them ornamental or inlaid with gold.

For all that (replied Socrates), if they end by purchasing an ill-fitting article, they only become the proprietors of a curiously-wrought and gilded nuisance, as it seems to me. But (he added), as the body is never in one fixed position, but is at one time curved, at another raised erect, how can an exactly-modelled corselet fit?

Pist.: It cannot fit at all.

You mean (Socrates continued) that it is not the exactly-modelled corselet which fits, but that which does not gall the wearer in the using?

Pist.: There, Socrates, you have hit the very point. I see you understand the matter most precisely.

XI.—There was once in the city a fair woman named Theodoté.[2] She was not only fair, but

[2] Some say that it was Theodoté who stood by Alcibiades to the last, though there are apparently other better claimants to the honour.

ready to consort with any suitor who might win her favour. Now it chanced that some one of the company mentioned her, saying that her beauty beggared description. "So fair is she," he added, "that painters flock to draw her portrait, to whom, within the limits of decorum, she displays the marvels of her beauty." "Then there is nothing for it but to go and see her," answered Socrates, "since to comprehend by hearsay what is beyond description is clearly impossible." Then he who had introduced the matter replied: "Be quick then to follow me;" and on this wise they set off to seek Theodoté. They found her "posing" to a certain painter; and they took their stand as spectators. Presently the painter had ceased his work; whereupon Socrates:

"Do you think, sirs, that we ought to thank Theodoté for displaying her beauty to us, or she us for coming to gaze at her? . . . It would seem, would it not, that if the exhibition of her charms is the more profitable to her, the debt is on her side; but if the spectacle of her beauty confers the greater benefit on us, then we are her debtors."

Some one answered that "was an equitable statement of the case."

Well then (he continued), as far as she is concerned, the praise we bestow on her is an immediate gain; and presently, when we have

spread her fame abroad, she will be further benefited; but for ourselves the immediate effect on us is a strong desire to touch what we have seen; by and by, too, we shall go away with a sting inside us, and when we are fairly gone we shall be consumed with longing. Consequently it seems that we should do her service and she accept our court.

Whereupon Theodoté: Oh dear! if that is how the matter stands, it is I who am your debtor for the spectacle.

At this point, seeing that the lady herself was expensively attired, and that she had with her her mother also, whose dress and style of attendance were out of the common, not to speak of the waiting-women—many and fair to look upon, who presented anything but a forlorn appearance; while in every respect the whole house itself was sumptuously furnished, —Socrates put a question:

Pray tell me, Theodoté, have you an estate in the country?

Theod.: Not I indeed.

Soc.: Then perhaps you possess a house and large revenues along with it?

Theod.: No, nor yet a house.

Soc.: You are not an employer of labour on a large scale?

Theod.: No, nor yet an employer of labour.

Soc.: From what source, then, do you get your means of subsistence?

Theod.: My friends are my life and fortune, when they care to be kind to me.

Soc.: By heaven, Theodoté, a very fine property indeed, and far better worth possessing than a multitude of sheep or goats or cattle. A flock of friends! . . . But (he added) do you leave it to fortune whether a friend lights like a fly on your hand at random, or do you use any artifice yourself to attract him?

Theod.: And how might I hit upon any artifice to attract him?

Soc.: Bless me! far more naturally than any spider. You know how they capture the creatures on which they live; by weaving webs of gossamer, is it not; and woe betide the fly that tumbles into their toils! They eat him up.

Theod.: So then you would counsel me to weave myself some sort of net?

Soc.: Why, surely you do not suppose you are going to ensnare that noblest of all game —a lover, to wit—in so artless a fashion? Do you not see (to speak of a much less noble sort of game) what a number of devices are needed to bag a hare? The creatures range for their food at night; therefore the hunter must provide himself with night dogs. At peep of dawn they are off as fast as they can run. He must

therefore have another pack of dogs to scent out and discover which way they betake them from their grazing ground to their forms; and as they are so fleet of foot that they run and are out of sight in no time, he must once again be provided with other fleet-footed dogs to follow their tracks and overtake them; and as some of them will give even these the slip, he must, last of all, set up nets on the paths at the points of escape, so that they may fall into the meshes and be caught.

Theod.: And by what like contrivance would you have me catch my lovers?

Soc.: Well now! what if in place of a dog you can get a man who will hunt up your wealthy lover of beauty and discover his lair, and having found him, will plot and plan to throw him into your meshes?

Theod.: Nay, what sort of meshes have I?

Soc.: One you have, and a close-folding net it is, I trow: to wit, your own person; and inside it sits a soul that teaches you with what looks to please and with what words to cheer; how, too, with smiles you are to welcome true devotion, but to exclude all wantons from your presence. It tells you, you are to visit your beloved in sickness with solicitude, and when he has wrought some noble deed, you are greatly to rejoice with him; and to one who passionately cares for you, you are to make surrender of

yourself with heart and soul. The secret of true love I am sure you know: not to love softly merely, but devotedly. And of this too I am sure: you can convince your lovers of your fondness for them not by lip phrases, but by acts of love.

Theod.: No, upon my word, I have none of these devices.

Soc.: And yet it makes all the difference whether you approach a human being in the natural and true way, since it is not by force certainly that you can either catch or keep a friend. Kindness and pleasure are the only means to capture this fearful wild-fowl man and keep him constant.

Theod.: You are right.

Soc.: In the first place you must make such demands only of your well-wisher as he can grant without repentance; and in the next place you must make requital, dispensing your favours with a like economy. Thus you will best make friends whose love shall last the longest and their generosity know no stint. And for your favours you will best win your friends if you stint your largesse to their penury; for, mark you, the sweetest viands presented to a man before he wants them are apt to prove insipid, or, to one already sated, even nauseous; but create hunger, and even coarser stuff seems honey-sweet.

Theod.: How then shall I create this hunger in the heart of my friends?

Soc.: In the first place you must not offer or make suggestions of your dainties to jaded appetites until satiety has ceased and starvation cries for alms. Even then shall you make but a faint suggestion to their want, with most modest converse,—like one who would fain bestow a kindness . . . and lo! the vision fades and she is gone,—until the very pinch of hunger; for the same gifts have then a value unknown before the moment of supreme desire.

Then Theodoté: Oh why, Socrates, why are you not by my side (like the huntsman's assistant) to help me catch my friends and lovers?

Soc.: That will I be in good sooth if only you can woo and win me.

Theod.: How shall I woo and win you?

Soc.: Seek and you will find means, if you truly need me.

Theod.: Come then in hither and visit me often.

And Socrates, poking sly fun at his own lack of business occupation, answered: Nay, Theodoté, leisure is not a commodity in which I largely deal. I have a hundred affairs of my own too, private or public, to occupy me; and then there are my lady-loves, my dear friends, who will not suffer me day or night to leave

them, for ever studying to learn love-charms and incantations at my lips.

Theod.: Why, are you really versed in those things, Socrates?

Soc.: Of course, or else how is it, do you suppose, that Apollodorus here and Antisthenes never leave me; or why have Cebes and Simmias come all the way from Thebes to stay with me? Be assured these things cannot happen without diverse love-charms and incantations and magic wheels.

Theod.: I wish you would lend me your magic wheel, then, and I will set it spinning first of all for you.

Soc.: Ah! but I do not wish to be drawn to you. I wish you to come to me.

Theod.: Then I will come. Only, will you be "at home" to me?

Soc.: Yes, I will welcome you, unless some one still dearer holds me engaged, and I must needs be "not at home."

XII.—Seeing one of those who were with him, a young man, but feeble of body, named Epigenes,[3] he addressed him.

Soc.: You have not the athletic appearance of a youth in training, Epigenes.

And he: That may well be, seeing I am an amateur and not in training.

Soc.: As little of an amateur, I take it, as any

[3] Epigenes, possibly the son of Antiphon.

one who ever entered the lists at Olympia, unless you are prepared to make light of that contest for life and death against the public foe which the Athenians will institute when the day comes. And yet they are not a few who, owing to a bad habit of body, either perish outright in the perils of war, or are ignobly saved. Many are they who for the self-same cause are taken prisoners, and being taken must, if it so betide, endure the pains of slavery for the rest of their days; or, after falling into dolorous straits, when they have paid to the uttermost farthing of all, or may be more than the worth of all, that they possess, must drag on a miserable existence in want of the barest necessaries till death release them. Many also are they who gain an evil repute through infirmity of body, being thought to play the coward. Can it be that you despise these penalties affixed to an evil habit? Do you think you could lightly endure them? Far lighter, I imagine, nay, pleasant even by comparison, are the toils which he will undergo who duly cultivates a healthy bodily condition. Or do you maintain that the evil habit is healthier, and in general more useful than the good? Do you pour contempt upon those blessings which flow from the healthy state? And yet the very opposite of that which befalls the ill attends the sound condition. Does not the very soundness imply at once health and

strength? Many a man with no other talisman than this has passed safely through the ordeal of war; stepping, not without dignity,[4] through all its horrors unscathed. Many with no other support than this have come to the rescue of friends, or stood forth as benefactors of their fatherland; whereby they were thought worthy of gratitude, and obtained a great renown and received as a recompense the highest honours of the State; to whom is also reserved a happier and brighter passage through what is left to them of life, and at their death they leave to their children the legacy of a fairer starting-point in the race of life.

Because our city does not practise military training in public, that is no reason for neglecting it in private, but rather a reason for making it a foremost care. For be you assured that there is no contest of any sort, nor any transaction, in which you will be the worse off for being well prepared in body; and in fact there is nothing which men do for which the body is not a help. In every demand, therefore, which can be laid upon the body it is much better that it should be in the best condition; since, even where you might imagine the claims upon the body to be slightest—in the act of reasoning—who does not know the terrible stumbles which are made through being out of health? It suffices to say that forgetfulness, and despondency, and mo-

[4] E. g., Socrates himself, according to Alcibiades.

roseness, and madness take occasion often of ill-health to visit the intellectual faculties so severely as to expel all knowledge from the brain. But he who is in good bodily plight has large security. He runs no risk of incurring any such catastrophe through ill-health at any rate; he has the expectation rather that a good habit must procure consequences the opposite to those of an evil habit; and surely to this end there is nothing a man in his senses would not undergo. . . . It is a base thing for a man to wax old in careless self-neglect before he has lifted up his eyes and seen what manner of man he was made to be, in the full perfection of bodily strength and beauty. But these glories are withheld from him who is guilty of self-neglect, for they are not wont to blaze forth unbidden.

XIII.—Once when some one was in a fury of indignation because he had bidden a passer-by good-day and the salutation was not returned, Socrates said: "It is enough to make one laugh! If you met a man in a wretched condition of body, you would not fall into a rage; but because you stumble upon a poor soul somewhat boorishly disposed, you feel annoyed."

To the remark of another who complained that he did not take his food with pleasure, he said: "Acumenus [5] has a good prescription for

[5] A well-known physician.

that." And when the other asked: "And what may that be?" "To stop eating," he said. "On the score of pleasure, economy, and health, total abstinence has much in its favour."

And when some one else lamented that "the drinking-water in his house was hot," he replied: "Then when you want a warm bath you will not have to wait."

The Other: But for bathing purposes it is cold.

Soc.: Do you find your domestics seem to mind drinking it or washing in it?

The Other: Quite the reverse; it is a constant marvel to me how contentedly they use it for either purpose.

Soc.: Which is hotter to the taste—the water in your house or the hot spring in the temple of Asclepius?[6]

The Other: The water in the temple of Asclepius.

Soc.: And which is colder for bathing—yours or the cold spring in the cave of Amphiaraus?[7]

The Other: The water in the cave of Amphiaraus.

Soc.: Then please to observe: if you do not take care, they will set you down as harder to please than a domestic servant or an invalid.

[6] In the Hieron at Epidauros probably.
[7] Possibly at Oropos.

A man had administered a severe whipping to the slave in attendance on him, and when Socrates asked: "Why he was so wroth with his own serving-man?" excused himself on the ground that "the fellow was a lazy, gourmandising, good-for-nothing dolt—fonder of money than of work." To which Socrates: "Did it ever strike you to consider which of the two in that case the more deserves a whipping—the master or the man?"

When some one was apprehending the journey to Olympia, "Why are you afraid of the long distance?" he asked. "Here at home you spend nearly all your day in taking walks. Well, on your road to Olympia you will take a walk and breakfast, and then you will take another walk and dine, and go to bed. Do you not see, if you take and tack together five or six days' length of walks, and stretch them out in one long line, it will soon reach from Athens to Olympia? I would recommend you, however, to set off a day too soon rather than a day too late. To be forced to lengthen the day's journey beyond a reasonable amount may well be a nuisance; but to take one day's journey beyond what is necessary is pure relaxation. Make haste to start, I say, and not while on the road."[8]

When some one else remarked "he was utterly prostrated after a long journey," Soc-

[8] "Festina lente"—that is your motto.

rates asked him: "Had he had any baggage to carry?"

"Not I," replied the complainer; "only my cloak."

Soc.: Were you travelling alone, or was your man-servant with you?

He: Yes, I had my man.

Soc.: Empty-handed, or had he something to carry?

He: Of course; carrying my rugs and other baggage.

Soc.: And how did he come off on the journey?

He: Better than I did myself, I take it.

Soc.: Well, but now suppose you had had to carry his baggage, what would your condition have been like?

He: Sorry enough, I can tell you; or rather, I could not have carried it at all.

Soc.: What a confession! Fancy being capable of so much less toil than a poor slave boy! Does that sound like the perfection of athletic training?

XIV.—On the occasion of a common dinner-party where some of the company would present themselves with a small, and others with a large supply of viands, Socrates would bid the servant throw the small supplies into the general stock, or else to help each of the party

to a share all around. Thus the grand victuallers were ashamed in the one case not to share in the common stock, and in the other not to throw in their supplies also. Accordingly in went the grand supplies into the common stock. And now, being no better off than the small contributors, they soon ceased to cater for expensive delicacies.

At a supper-party one member of the company, as Socrates chanced to note, had put aside the plain fare and was devoting himself to certain dainties. A discussion was going on about names and definitions, and the proper applications of terms to things. Whereupon Socrates, appealing to the company: "Can we explain why we call a man a 'dainty fellow'? What is the particular action to which the term applies? —since every one adds some dainty to his food when he can get it. But we have not quite hit the definition yet, I think. Are we to be called dainty eaters because we like our bread buttered?"

No! hardly! (some member of the company replied).

Soc.: Well, but now suppose a man confine himself to eating venison or other dainty without any plain food at all, not as a matter of training, but for the pleasure of it: has such a man earned the title? "The rest of the world

would have a poor chance against him,"[9] some one answered. "Or," interposed another, "what if the dainty dishes he devours are out of all proportion to the rest of his meal—what of him?"

Soc.: He has established a very fair title at any rate to the appellation, and when the rest of the world pray to heaven for a fine harvest: "May our corn and oil increase!" he may reasonably ejaculate, "May my fleshpots multiply!"

At this last sally the young man, feeling that the conversation set somewhat in his direction, did not desist indeed from his savoury viands, but helped himself generously to a piece of bread. Socrates was all-observant, and added: Keep an eye on our friend yonder, you others next him, and see fair play between the sop and the sauce.

Another time, seeing one of the company using but one sop of bread to test several savoury dishes, he remarked: Could there be a more extravagant style of cookery, or more murderous to the dainty dishes themselves, than this wholesale method of taking so many dishes together?—why, bless me, twenty different sorts of seasoning at one swoop![1] First of all he

[9] Or, more lit., "Hardly any one could deserve the appellation better."

[1] Huckleberry Finn (p. 2 of that young person's Adventures) propounds the rationale of the system: "In a barrel of odds

mixes up actually more ingredients than the cook himself prescribes, which is extravagant; and secondly, he has the audacity to commingle what the chef holds incongruous, whereby if the cooks are right in their method he is wrong in his, and consequently the destroyer of their art. Now is it not ridiculous first to procure the greatest virtuosi to cook for us, and then without any claim to their skill to take and alter their procedure? But there is a worse thing in store for the bold man who habituates himself to eat a dozen dishes at once: when there are but few dishes served, out of pure habit he will feel himself half starved, whilst his neighbour, accustomed to send his sop down by help of a single relish, will feast merrily, be the dishes never so few.

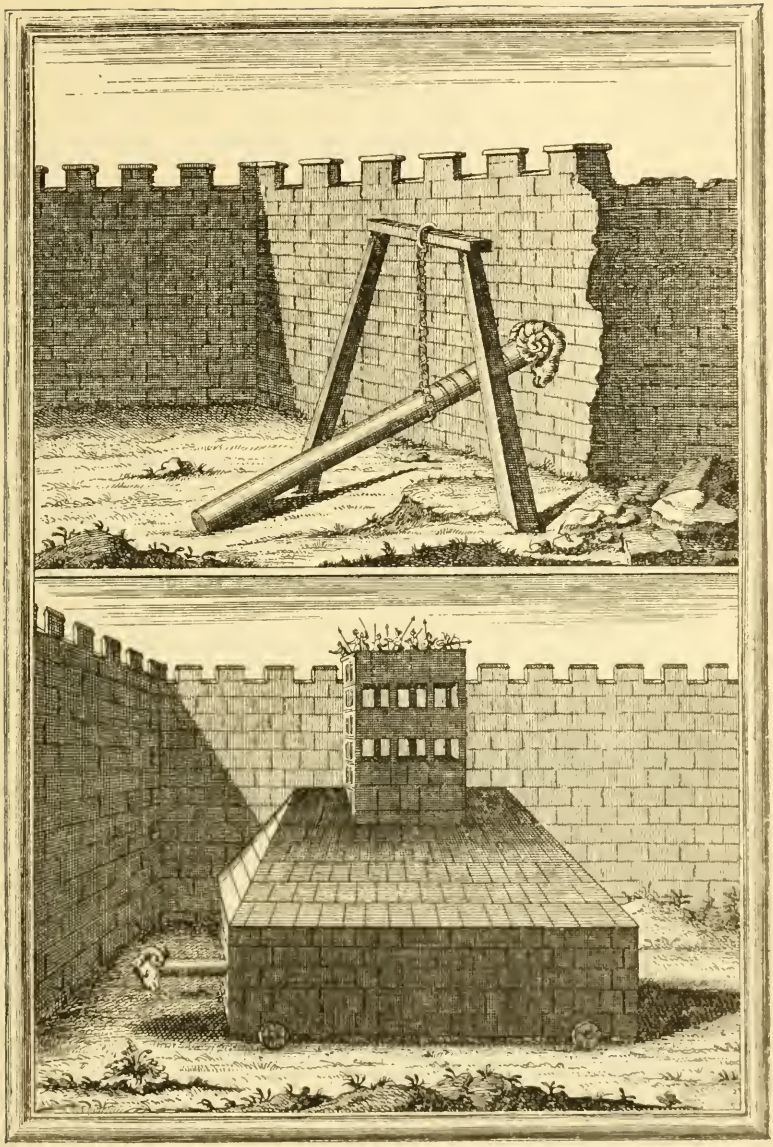
He had a saying that εὐωχεῖσθαι, to "make good cheer," was in Attic parlance a synonym for "eating," and the affix εὖ (the attributive "good") connoted the eating of such things as would not trouble soul or body, and were not far to seek or hard to find. So that to "make good cheer" in his vocabulary applied to a modest and well-ordered style of living.[2]

and ends it is different; things get mixed up, and the juice kind of swaps around, and the things go better."

[2] Similar far-fetched etymologies are common in the dialogues of Socrates.

Two Different Battering Rams

Showing a Ram Suspended and a Tortoise Ram.
After an Etching of the Fifteenth Century,
now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford



MEMORABILIA

BOOK IV

SUCH was Socrates; so helpful under all circumstances and in every way that no observer, gifted with ordinary sensibility, could fail to appreciate the fact, that to be with Socrates, and to spend long time in his society (no matter where nor what the circumstances), was indeed a priceless gain. Even the recollection of him, when he was no longer present, was felt as no small benefit by those who had grown accustomed to be with him, and who accepted him. Nor indeed was he less helpful to his acquaintance in his lighter than in his graver moods.

Let us take as an example that saying of his, so often on his lips: "I am in love with so and so;" and all the while it was obvious the going-forth of his soul was not towards excellence of body in the bloom of beauty, but rather towards faculties of the soul unfolding in virtue. And these "good natures" he detected by certain tokens: a readiness to learn that to which the attention was directed; a power of retaining in the memory the lessons learnt; and a passionate predilection for those studies in particular which

serve to good administration of a house or of a state, and in general to the proper handling of man and human affairs. Such beings, he maintained, needed only to be educated to become not only happy themselves and happy administrators of their private households, but to be capable of rendering other human beings as states or individuals happy also.

He had indeed a different way of dealing with different kinds of people.[1] Those who thought they had good natural ability and despised learning he instructed that the most highly-gifted nature stands most in need of training and education; and he would point out how in the case of horses it is just the spirited fiery thoroughbred which, if properly broken in as a colt, will develop into a serviceable and superb animal, but if left unbroken will turn out utterly intractable and good for nothing. Or take the case of dogs: a puppy exhibiting that zest for toil and eagerness to attack wild creatures which are the marks of high breeding, will, if well brought up, prove excellent for the chase or for any other useful purpose; but neglect his education and he will turn out a stupid, crazy brute, incapable of obeying the simplest command. It is just the same with human beings; here also the youth of best natural endowments

[1] Or, "His method of attack was not indeed uniformly the same. It varied with the individual."

—that is to say, possessing the most robust qualities of spirit and a fixed determination to carry out whatever he has laid his hand to—will, if trained and taught what it is right to do, prove a superlatively good and useful man. He achieves, in fact, what is best upon the grandest scale. But leave him in boorish ignorance, untrained, and he will prove not only very bad but very mischievous, and for this reason, that lacking the knowledge to discern what it is right to do, he will frequently lay his hand to villainous practices; whilst the very magnificence and vehemence of his character render it impossible either to rein him in or to turn him aside from his evil courses. Hence in his case also his achievements are on the grandest scale but of the worst.

Or to take the type of person so eaten up with the pride of riches that he conceives himself dispensed from any further need of education—since it is "money makes the man," and his wealth will amply suffice him to carry out his desires and to win honours from admiring humanity. Socrates would bring such people to their senses by pointing out the folly of supposing that without instruction it was possible to draw the line of demarcation between what is gainful and what is hurtful in conduct; and the further folly of supposing that, apart from such discrimination, a man could help himself

by means of wealth alone to whatever he liked or find the path of expediency plain before him; and was it not the veriest simplicity to suppose that, without the power of labouring profitably, a man can either be doing well or be in any sort of way sufficiently equipped for the battle of life? and again, the veriest simplicity to suppose that by mere wealth without true knowledge it was possible either to purchase a reputation for some excellence, or without such reputation to gain distinction and celebrity?

II.—Or to come to a third kind—the class of people who are persuaded that they have received the best education, and are proud of their wisdom: his manner of dealing with these I will now describe.

Euthydemus[2] "the beautiful" had (Socrates was given to understand) collected a large library, consisting of the most celebrated poets and philosophers, by help of which he already believed himself to be more than a match for his fellows in wisdom, and indeed might presently expect to outtop them all in capacity of speech and action. At first, as Socrates noted, the young man by reason of his youth had not as yet set foot in the agora, but if he had anything to transact, his habit was to seat himself in a saddler's shop hard by. Accordingly to this

[2] Euthydemus, the son of Diocles, perhaps.

same saddler's shop Socrates betook himself with some of those who were with him. And first the question was started by some one: "Was it through consorting with the wise, or by his own unaided talent, that Themistocles came so to surpass his fellow-citizens that when the services of a capable man were needed the eyes of the whole community instinctively turned to him?" Socrates, with a view to stirring Euthydemus, answered: There was certainly an ingenuous simplicity in the belief that superiority in arts of comparatively little worth could only be attained by aid of qualified teachers, but that the leadership of the state, the most important concern of all, was destined to drop into the lap of anybody, no matter whom, like an accidental windfall.

On a subsequent occasion, Euthydemus being present, though, as was plain to see, somewhat disposed to withdraw from the friendly concourse, as if he would choose anything rather than appear to admire Socrates on the score of wisdom, the latter made the following remarks:

Soc.: It is clear from his customary pursuits, is it not, sirs, that when our friend Euthydemus here is of full age, and the state propounds some question for solution, he will not abstain from offering the benefit of his advice? One can imagine the pretty exordium to his parliamentary speeches which, in his anxiety not to be

thought to have learnt anything from anybody, he has ready for the occasion. Clearly at the outset he will deliver himself thus: "Men of Athens, I have never at any time learnt anything from anybody; nor, if I have ever heard of any one as being an able statesman, well versed in speech and capable of action, have I sought to come across him individually. I have not so much as been at pains to provide myself with a teacher from amongst those who have knowledge;[3] on the contrary, I have persistently avoided, I will not say learning from others, but the very faintest suspicion of so doing. However, anything that occurs to me by the light of nature I shall be glad to place at your disposal." . . . How appropriate would such a preface sound on the lips of any one seeking, say, the office of state physician, would it not? How advantageously he might begin an address on this wise: "Men of Athens, I have never learnt the art of healing by help of anybody, nor have I sought to provide myself with any teacher among medical men. Indeed, to put it briefly, I have been ever on my guard not only against learning anything from the profession, but against the very notion of having ever studied medicine at all. If, however, you will be so good as to confer on me this post, I promise I will do my best to acquire skill by experimenting on your persons." Every one pres-

[3] Or, "scientific experts."

ent laughed at the exordium (and there the matter dropped).

Presently, when it became apparent that Euthydemus had got so far that he was disposed to pay attention to what was said, though he was still at pains not to utter a sound himself, as if he hoped by silence to attach to himself some reputation for sagacity, Socrates, wishing to cure him of that defect, proceeded.

Soc.: Is it not surprising that people anxious to learn to play the harp or the flute, or to ride, or to become proficient in any like accomplishment, are not content to work unremittingly in private by themselves at whatever it is in which they desire to excel, but they must sit at the feet of the best-esteemed teachers, doing all things and enduring all things for the sake of following the judgment of those teachers in everything, as though they themselves could not otherwise become famous; whereas, among those who aspire to become eminent politically as orators and statesmen, there are some who cannot see why they should not be able to do all that politics demand, at a moment's notice, by inspiration as it were, without any preliminary pains or preparation whatsoever? And yet it would appear that the latter concerns must be more difficult of achievement than the former, in proportion as there are more competitors in the field but fewer who reach the goal of their

ambition, which is as much as to say that a more sustained effort of attention is needed on the part of those who embark upon the sea of politics than is elsewhere called for.

Such were the topics on which Socrates was wont in the early days of his association to dilate in the hearing of Euthydemus; but when the philosopher perceived that the youth not only could tolerate the turns of the discussion more readily but was now become a somewhat eager listener, he went to the saddler's shop alone, and when Euthydemus was seated by his side the following conversation took place.

Soc.: Pray tell me, Euthydemus, is it really true what people tell me, that you have made a large collection of the writings of "the wise," as they are called?

Euthydemus answered: Quite true, Socrates, and I mean to go on collecting until I possess all the books I can possibly lay hold of.

Soc.: By Hêra! I admire you for wishing to possess treasures of wisdom rather than of gold and silver, which shows that you do not believe gold and silver to be the means of making men better, but that the thoughts of the wise alone enrich with virtue their possessors.

And Euthydemus was glad when he heard that saying, for, thought he to himself, "In the eyes of Socrates I am on the high road to the acquisition of wisdom." But the latter, per-

ceiving him to be pleased with the praise, continued.

Soc.: And what is it in which you desire to excel, Euthydemus, that you collect books?

And when Euthydemus was silent, considering what answer he should make, Socrates added: Possibly you want to be a great doctor? Why, the prescriptions[4] of the Pharmacopœia would form a pretty large library by themselves.

No indeed, not I! (answered Euthydemus).

Soc.: Then do you wish to be an architect? That too implies a man of well-stored wit and judgment.

I have no such ambition (he replied).

Soc.: Well, do you wish to be a mathematician, like Theodorus?[5]

Euth.: No, nor yet a mathematician.

Soc.: Then do you wish to be an astronomer? or (as the youth signified dissent) possibly a rhapsodist? (he asked), for I am told you have the entire works of Homer in your possession.

Nay, God forbid! not I! (ejaculated the youth). Rhapsodists have a very exact acquaintance with epic poetry, I know, of course; but they are empty-pated creatures enough themselves.

At last Socrates said: Can it be, Euthydemus, that you are an aspirant to that excellence

[4] Or, "medical treatises." [5] Of Cyrene, who taught Plato.

through which men become statesmen and administrators fit to rule and apt to benefit the rest of the world and themselves?

Yes (replied he), that is the excellence I desire—beyond measure.

Upon my word (said Socrates), then you have indeed selected as the object of your ambition the noblest of virtues and the greatest of the arts, for this is the property of kings, and is entitled "royal"; but (he continued) have you considered whether it is possible to excel in these matters without being just and upright?

Euth.: Certainly I have, and I say that without justice and uprightness it is impossible to be a good citizen.

No doubt (replied Socrates) you have accomplished that initial step?

Euth.: Well, Socrates, I think I could hold my own against all comers as an upright man.

And have upright men (continued Socrates) their distinctive and appropriate works like those of carpenters or shoemakers?

Euth.: To be sure they have.

Soc.: And just as the carpenter is able to exhibit his works and products, the righteous man should be able to expound and set forth his, should he not?

I see (replied Euthydemus) you are afraid I cannot expound the works of righteousness!

Why bless me! of course I can and the works of unrighteousness into the bargain, since there are not a few of that sort within reach of eye and ear every day.

Shall we then (proceeded Socrates) write the letter R on this side,[6] and on that side the letter W; and then anything that appears to us to be the product of righteousness we will place to the R account, and anything which appears to be the product of wrong-doing and iniquity to the account of W?

By all means do so (he answered), if you think that it assists matters.

Accordingly Socrates drew the letters, as he had suggested, and continued.

Soc.: Lying exists among men, does it not?

Euth.: Certainly.

To which side of the account then shall we place it? (he asked).

Euth.: Clearly on the side of wrong and injustice.

Soc.: Deceit too is not uncommon?

Euth.: By no means.

Soc.: To which side shall we place deceit?

Euth.: Deceit clearly on the side of wrong.

Soc.: Well, and chicanery or mischief of any sort?

Euth.: That too.

[6] The letter R (to stand for Right, Righteous, Upright, Just). The letter W (to stand for Wrong, Unrighteous, Unjust).

Soc.: And the enslavement of free-born men?[7]

Euth.: That too.

Soc.: And we cannot allow any of these to lie on the R side of the account, to the side of right and justice, can we, Euthydemus?

It would be monstrous (he replied).

Soc.: Very good. But supposing a man to be elected general, and he succeeds in enslaving an unjust, wicked, and hostile state, are we to say that he is doing wrong?

Euth.: By no means.

Soc.: Shall we not admit that he is doing what is right?

Euth.: Certainly.

Soc.: Again, suppose he deceives the foe while at war with them?

Euth.: That would be all fair and right also.

Soc.: Or steals and pillages their property? would he not be doing what is right?

Euth.: Certainly; when you began I thought you were limiting the question to the case of friends.

Soc.: So then everything which we set down on the side of Wrong will now have to be placed to the credit of Right?

Euth.: Apparently.

[7] Or, "the kidnapping men into slavery;" slavery itself being regarded as the normal condition of a certain portion of the human race and not in itself immoral.

Soc.: Very well then, let us so place them; and please, let us make a new definition—that while it is right to do such things to a foe, it is wrong to do them to a friend, but in dealing with the latter it behoves us to be as straightforward as possible.

I quite assent (replied Euthydemus).

So far so good (remarked Socrates); but if a general, seeing his troops demoralised, were to invent a tale to the effect that reinforcements were coming, and by means of this false statement should revive the courage of his men, to which of the two accounts shall we place that act of fraud?

On the side of right, to my notion (he replied).

Soc.: Or again, if a man chanced to have a son ill and in need of medicine, which the child refused to take, and supposing the father by an act of deceit to administer it under the guise of something nice to eat, and by service of that lie to restore the boy to health, to which account shall we set down this fraud?

Euth.: In my judgment it too should be placed to the same account.

Soc.: Well, supposing you have a friend in deplorably low spirits, and you are afraid he will make away with himself—accordingly you rob him of his knife or other such instrument: to which side ought we to set the theft?

Euth.: This too must surely be placed to the score of right behaviour.

Soc.: I understand you to say that a straightforward course is not in every case to be pursued even in dealing with friends?

Heaven forbid! (the youth exclaimed). If you will allow me, I rescind my former statement.

Soc.: Allow you! Of course you may—anything rather than make a false entry in our lists. . . . But there is just another point we ought not to leave uninvestigated. Let us take the case of deceiving a friend to his detriment: which is the more wrongful—to do so voluntarily or unintentionally?

Euth.: Really, Socrates, I have ceased to believe in my own answers, for all my former admissions and conceptions seem to me other than I first supposed them. Still, if I may hazard one more opinion, the intentional deceiver, I should say, is worse than the involuntary.

Soc.: And is it your opinion that there is a lore and science of Right and Justice just as there is of letters and grammar?

Euth.: That is my opinion.

Soc.: And which should you say was more a man of letters,—he who intentionally misspells or misreads, or he who does so unconsciously?

Euth.: He who does so intentionally, I should

say, because he can spell or read correctly whenever he chooses.

Soc.: Then the voluntary misspeller may be a lettered person, but the involuntary offender is an illiterate?

Euth.: True, he must be. I do not see how to escape from that conclusion.

Soc.: And which of the two knows what is right—he who intentionally lies and deceives, or he who lies and deceives unconsciously?

Euth.: The intentional and conscious liar clearly.

Soc.: Well then, your statement is this: on the one hand, the man who has the knowledge of letters is more lettered than he who has no such knowledge?

Euth.: Yes.

Soc.: And, on the other, he who has the knowledge of what is right is more righteous than he who lacks that knowledge?

Euth.: I suppose it is, but for the life of me I cannot make head or tail of my own admission.

Soc.: Well (look at it like this). Suppose a man to be anxious to speak the truth, but he is never able to hold the same language about a thing for two minutes together. First he says: "The road is towards the east," and then he says: "No, it's towards the west;" or, running up a column of figures, now he makes the prod-

uct this, and again he makes it that, now more, now less—what do you think of such a man?

Euth.: Heaven help us! clearly he does not know what he thought he knew.

Soc.: And you know the appellation given to certain people—"slavish,"[8] or, "little better than a slave?"

Euth.: I do.

Soc.: Is it a term suggestive of the wisdom or the ignorance of those to whom it is applied?

Euth.: Clearly of their ignorance.

Soc.: Ignorance, for instance, of smithying?

Euth.: No, certainly not.

Soc.: Then possibly ignorance of carpentering?

Euth.: No, nor yet ignorance of carpentering.

Soc.: Well, ignorance of shoemaking?

Euth.: No, nor ignorance of any of these: rather the reverse for the majority of those who do know just these matters are "little better than slaves."

Soc.: You mean it is a title attaching particularly to those who are ignorant of the beautiful, the good, the just?

It is, in my opinion (he replied).

[8] The Greek word has the connotation of mental dulness, and a low order of intellect; cf., "boorish," "rustic," "loutish" ("pariah," conceivably). "Slavish," "servile," with us connote moral rather than intellectual deficiency. Hence it is impossible to preserve the humour of the Socratic argument.

Soc.: Then we must in every way strain every nerve to avoid the imputation of being slaves?

Euth.: Nay, Socrates, by all that is holy, I did flatter myself that at any rate I was a student of philosophy, and on the right road to be taught everything essential to one who would fain make beauty and goodness his pursuit. So that now you may well imagine my despair when, for all my pains expended, I cannot even answer the questions put to me about what most of all a man should know; and there is no path of progress open to me, no avenue of improvement left.

Thereupon Socrates: Tell me, Euthydemus, have you ever been to Delphi?

Yes, certainly; twice (said he).

Soc.: And did you notice an inscription somewhere on the temple: *ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ*—KNOW THYSELF?

Euth.: I did.

Soc.: Did you, possibly, pay no regard to the inscription? or did you give it heed and try to discover who and what you were?

I can safely say I did not (he answered). That much I made quite sure I knew, at any rate; since if I did not know even myself, what in the world did I know?

Soc.: Can a man be said, do you think, to know himself who knows his own name and nothing more? or must he not rather set to work

precisely like the would-be purchaser of a horse, who certainly does not think that he has got the knowledge he requires until he has discovered whether the beast is tractable or stubborn, strong or weak, quick or slow, and how it stands with the other points, serviceable or the reverse, in reference to the use and purpose of a horse? So, I say, must a man in like manner interrogate his own nature in reference to a man's requirements, and learn to know his own capacities, must he not?

Euth.: Yes, so it strikes me: he who knows not his own ability knows not himself.

Soc.: And this too is plain, is it not: that through self-knowledge men meet with countless blessings, and through ignorance of themselves with many evils? Because, the man who knows himself knows what is advantageous to himself; he discerns the limits of his powers, and by doing what he knows, he provides himself with what he needs and so does well; or, conversely, by holding aloof from what he knows not, he avoids mistakes, and thereby mishaps. And having now a test to gauge other human beings, he uses their need as a stepping-stone to provide himself with good and to avoid evil. Whereas he who does not know himself, but is mistaken as to his own capacity, is in like predicament with regard to the rest of mankind,

and all human matters else; he neither knows what he wants, nor what he is doing, nor the people whom he deals with; and being all abroad in these respects, he misses what is good and becomes involved in what is ill.

Again, he that knows what he is doing through the success of his performance attains to fame and honour; his peers and co-mates are glad to make use of him, whilst his less successful neighbours, failing in their affairs, are anxious to secure his advice, his guidance, his protection; they place their hopes of happiness in him, and for all these causes single him out as the chief object of their affection. He, on the contrary, who knows not what he does, who chooses amiss and fails in what he puts his hands to, not only incurs loss and suffers chastisement through his blunders, but step by step loses reputation and becomes a laughing-stock, and in the end is doomed to a life of dishonour and contempt.

What is true of individuals is true also of communities. That state which in ignorance of its power goes to war with a stronger than itself ends by being uprooted or else reduced to slavery.

Thereupon Euthydemus: Be assured I fully concur in your opinion; the precept KNOW THYSELF cannot be too highly valued; but what is the application? What the starting-point of

self-examination? I look to you for an explanation, if you would kindly give one.[9]

Well (replied Socrates), I presume you know quite well the distinction between good and bad things: your knowledge may be relied upon so far?

Why, yes, to be sure (replied the youth); for without that much discernment I should indeed be worse than any slave.

Come then (said he), do you give me an explanation of the things so termed.

That is fortunately not hard (replied the youth). First of all, health in itself I hold to be a good, and disease in itself an evil; and in the next place the sources of either of those aforenamed, meats and drinks and habits of life, I regard as good or evil according as they contribute either to health or to disease.

Soc.: Then health and disease themselves when they prove to be sources of any good are good, but when of any evil, evil?

And when(asked he), can health be a source of evil, or disease a source of good?

Why, bless me! often enough (replied Socrates). In the event, for instance, of some ill-starred expedition or of some disastrous voyage or other incident of the sort, of which veritably

[9] Or, "at what point to commence the process of self-inspection?—there is the mystery. I look to you, if you are willing, to interpret it."

there are enough and to spare,—when those who owing to their health and strength take a part in the affair are lost; whilst those who are left behind—as hors de combat, on account of ill-health or other feebleness—are saved.

Euth.: Yes, you are right; but you will admit that there are advantages to be got from strength and lost through weakness.

Soc.: Even so; but ought we to regard those things which at one moment benefit and at another moment injure us in any strict sense good rather than evil?

Euth.: No, certainly not, according to that line of argument. But wisdom, Socrates, you must on your side admit, is irrefragably a good; since there is nothing which or in which a wise man would not do better than a fool.

Soc.: What say you? Have you never heard of Dædalus, how he was seized by Minos on account of his wisdom, and forced to be his slave, and robbed of fatherland and freedom at one swoop? and how, while endeavouring to make his escape with his son, he caused the boy's death without effecting his own salvation, but was carried off among barbarians and again enslaved?

Yes, I know the old story (he answered).[1]

Soc.: Or have you not heard of the "woes of

[1] Or, "Ah, yes, of course; the tale is current."

Palamedes," that commonest theme of song, how for his wisdom's sake Odysseus envied him and slew him?

Euth. That tale also is current.

Soc.: And how many others, pray, do you suppose have been seized on account of their wisdom, and despatched to the great king and at his court enslaved?

Well, prosperity, well-being (he exclaimed), must surely be a blessing, and that the most indisputable, Socrates?

It might be so (replied the philosopher) if it chanced not to be in itself a compound of other questionable blessings.

Euth.: And which among the components of happiness and well-being can possibly be questionable?

None (he retorted), unless of course we are to include among these components beauty, or strength, or wealth, or reputation, or anything else of that kind?

Euth.: By heaven! of course we are to include these, for what would happiness be without these?

Soc.: By heaven! yes; only then we shall be including the commonest sources of mischief which befall mankind. How many are ruined by their fair faces at the hand of admirers driven to distraction by the sight of beauty in its bloom! how many, tempted by their strength to

essay deeds beyond their power, are involved in no small evils! how many, rendered effeminate by reason of their wealth, have been plotted against and destroyed![2] how many through fame and political power have suffered a world of woe!

Well (the youth replied), if I am not even right in praising happiness, I must confess I know not for what one ought to supplicate the gods in prayer.

Nay, these are matters (proceeded Socrates) which perhaps, through excessive confidence in your knowledge of them, you have failed to examine into; but since the state, which you are preparing yourself to direct, is democratically constituted, of course you know what a democracy is.

Euth.: I presume I do, decidedly.

Soc.: Well, now, is it possible to know what a popular state is without knowing who the people are?

Euth.: Certainly not.

Soc.: And whom do you consider to be the people?

Euth.: The poor citizens, I should say.

Soc.: Then you know who the poor are, of course?

Euth.: Of course I do.

Soc.: I presume you also know who the rich are?

[2] E. g., Alcibiades.

Euth.: As certainly as I know who are the poor.

Soc.: Whom do you understand by poor and rich?

Euth.: By poor I mean those who have not enough to pay for their necessaries,[3] and by rich those who have more means than sufficient for all their needs.

Soc.: Have you noticed that some who possess a mere pittance not only find this sufficient, but actually succeed in getting a surplus out of it; while others do not find a large fortune large enough?

I have most certainly; and I thank you for the reminder (replied Euthydemus). One has heard of crowned heads and despotic rulers being driven by want to commit misdeeds like the veriest paupers.

Then, if that is how matters stand (continued Socrates), we must class these same crowned heads with the commonalty; and some possessors of scant fortunes, provided they are good economists, with the wealthy?

Then Euthydemus: It is the poverty of my own wit which forces me to this admission. I bethink me it is high time to keep silence altogether; a little more, and I shall be proved to know absolutely nothing. And so he went

[3] Al., "who cannot contribute their necessary quota to the taxes (according to the census)."

away crestfallen, in an agony of self-contempt, persuaded that he was verily and indeed no better than a slave.

Amongst those who were reduced to a like condition by Socrates, many refused to come near him again, whom he for his part looked upon as dolts and dullards. But Euthydemus had the wit to understand that, in order to become worthy of account, his best plan was to associate as much as possible with Socrates; and from that moment, save for some necessity, he never left him—in some points even imitating him in his habits and pursuits. Socrates, on his side, seeing that this was the young man's disposition, disturbed him as little as possible, but in the simplest and plainest manner initiated him into everything which he held to be needful to know or important to practise.

III.—It may be inferred that Socrates was in no hurry for those who were with him to discover capacities for speech and action or as inventive geniuses, without at any rate a well-laid foundation of self-control. For those who possessed such abilities without these same saving virtues would, he believed, only become worse men with greater power for mischief. His first object was to instil into those who were with him a wise spirit in their relation to the gods. That such was the tenor of his conversa-

tion in dealing with men may be seen from the narratives of others who were present on some particular occasion. I confine myself to a particular discussion with Euthydemus at which I was present.

Socrates said: Tell me, Euthydemus, has it ever struck you to observe what tender pains the gods have taken to furnish man with all his needs?

Euth.: No indeed, I cannot say that it has ever struck me.

Well (Socrates continued), you do not need to be reminded that, in the first place, we need light; and with light the gods supply us.

Euth.: Most true, and if we had not got it we should, as far as our own eyes could help us, be like men born blind.

Soc.: And then, again, seeing that we stand in need of rest and relaxation, they bestow upon us "the blessed balm of silent night."[4]

Yes (he answered), we are much beholden for that boon.

Soc.: Then, forasmuch as the sun in his splendour makes manifest to us the hours of the day and bathes all things in brightness, but anon night in her darkness obliterates distinctions, have they not displayed aloft the starry orbs, which inform us of the watches of the night, whereby we can accomplish many of our needs?

It is so (he answered).

[4] The diction throughout is "poetical."

Soc.: And let us not forget that the moon herself not only makes clear to us the quarters of the night, but of the month also?

Certainly (he answered).

Soc.: And what of this: that whereas we need nutriment, this too the heavenly powers yield us? Out of earth's bosom they cause food to spring up for our benefit; and for our benefit provide appropriate seasons to furnish us in turn not only with the many and diverse objects of need, but with the sources also of our joy and gladness?

Yes (he answered eagerly), these things bear token truly to a love for man.

Soc.: Well, and what of another priceless gift, that of water, which conspires with earth and the seasons to give both birth and increase to all things useful to us; nay, which helps to nurture our very selves, and commingling with all that feeds us, renders it more digestible, more wholesome, and more pleasant to the taste; and mark you in proportion to the abundance of our need the superabundance of its supply. What say you concerning such a boon?

Euth.: In this again I see a sign of providential care.

Soc.: And then the fact that the same heavenly power has provided us with fire[5]—our as-

[5] Lit., "and then the fact that they had made provision for us of even fire;" the credit of this boon, according to Hesiod, being due to Prometheus.

sistant against cold, our auxiliary in darkness, our fellow-workman in every art and every instrument which for the sake of its utility mortal man may invent or furnish himself withal. What of this, since, to put it compendiously, there is nothing serviceable to the life of man worth speaking of but owes its fabrication to fire?

Euth.: Yes, a transcendent instance of benevolent design.

Soc.: Again, consider the motions of the Sun, how when he has turned him about in winter [6] he again draws nigh to us, ripening some fruits, and causing others whose time is past to dry up; how when he has fulfilled his work he comes no closer, but turns away as if in fear to scorch us to our hurt unduly; and again, when he has reached a point where if he should prolong his retreat we should plainly be frozen to death with cold, note how he turns him about and resumes his approach, traversing that region of the heavens where he may shed his genial influence best upon us.

Yes, upon my word (he answered), these occurrences bear the impress of being so ordered for the sake of man.

Soc.: And then, again, it being manifest that we could not endure either scorching heat or freezing cold if they came suddenly upon us,

[6] I. e., as we say, "after the winter solstice."

note how gradually the sun approaches, and how gradually recedes, so that we fail to notice how we come at last to either extreme.

For my part (he replied), the question forces itself upon my mind, whether the gods have any other occupation save only to minister to man; and I am only hindered from saying so, because the rest of animals would seem to share these benefits along with man.

Soc.: Why, to be sure; and is it not plain that these animals themselves are born and bred for the sake of man? At any rate, no living creature save man derives so many of his enjoyments from sheep and goats, horses and cattle and asses, and other animals. He is more dependent, I should suppose, on these than even on plants and vegetables. At any rate, equally with these latter they serve him as means of subsistence or articles of commerce; indeed, a large portion of the human family do not use the products of the soil as food at all, but live on the milk and cheese and flesh of their flocks and herds, whilst all men everywhere tame and domesticate the more useful kinds of animals, and turn them to account as fellow-workers in war and for other purposes.

Yes, I cannot but agree with what you say (he answered), when I see that animals so much stronger than man become so subservient to his hand that he can use them as he lists.

Soc.: And as we reflect on the infinite beauty and utility and the variety of nature, what are we to say of the fact that man has been endowed with sensibilities which correspond with this diversity, whereby we take our fill of every blessing; or, again, this implanted faculty of reasoning, which enables us to draw inferences concerning the things which we perceive, and by aid of memory to understand how each set of things may be turned to our good, and to devise countless contrivances with a view to enjoying the good and repelling the evil; or lastly, when we consider the faculty bestowed upon us of interpretative speech, by which we are enabled to instruct one another, and to participate in all the blessings fore-named: to form societies, to establish laws, and to enter upon a civilised existence,—what are we to think?

Euth.: Yes, Socrates, decidedly it would appear that the gods do manifest a great regard, nay, a tender care, towards mankind.

Soc.: Well, and what do you make of the fact that where we are powerless to take advantageous forethought for our future, at this stage they themselves lend us their co-operation, imparting to the inquirer through divination knowledge of events about to happen, and instructing him by what means they may best be turned to good account?

Euth.: Ay, and you, Socrates, they would

seem to treat in a more friendly manner still than the rest of men, if, without waiting even to be inquired of by you, they show you by signs beforehand what you must, and what you must not do.[7]

Soc.: Yes, and you will discover for yourself the truth of what I say, if, without waiting to behold the outward and visible forms of the gods themselves, you will be content to behold their works; and with these before you, to worship and honour the Divine authors of them. I would have you reflect that the very gods themselves suggest this teaching.[8] Not one of these but gives us freely of his blessings; yet they do not step from behind their veil in order to grant one single boon. And pre-eminently He who orders and holds together the universe, in which are all things beautiful and good;[9] who fashions and refashions it to never-ending use unworn, keeping it free from sickness or decay, so that swifter than thought it ministers to his will unerringly,—this God is seen to perform the mightiest operations, but in the actual administration of the same abides himself invisible to mortal ken. Reflect further, this Sun above our heads, so visible to all—as we suppose,—will not suffer man to regard him too nar-

[7] See above, I. iv., for a parallel to the train of thought on the part of Aristodemus "the little."

[8] I. e., "that man must walk by faith."

[9] Or, "in whom all beauty and goodness is."

rowly, but should any essay to watch him with shameless stare he will snatch away their power of vision. And if the gods themselves are thus unseen, so too shall you find their ministers to be hidden also; from the height of heaven above the thunderbolt is plainly hurled, and triumphs over all that it encounters, yet it is all-invisible, no eye may detect its coming or its going or the movement of its swoop. The winds also are themselves unseen, though their works are manifest, and through their approach we are aware of them. And let us not forget, the soul of man himself, which if aught else human shares in the divine—however manifestly enthroned within our bosom, is as wholly as the rest hidden from our gaze. These things you should lay to mind, and not despise the invisible ones, but learn to recognise their power, as revealed in outward things, and to know the divine influence.[1]

Nay, Socrates (replied Euthydemus), there is no danger I shall turn a deaf ear to the divine influence even a little; of that I am not afraid, but I am out of heart to think that no soul of man may ever requite the kindnesses of the gods with fitting gratitude.

Be not out of heart because of that (he said); you know what answer the god at Delphi makes to each one who comes asking "how shall I return thanks to Heaven?"—"According to the law and custom of your city;" and this, I pre-

[1] The divinity.

sume, is law and custom everywhere that a man should please the gods with offerings according to the ability which is in him. How then should a man honour the gods with more beautiful or holier honour than by doing what they bid him? but he must in no wise slacken or fall short of his ability, for when a man so does, it is manifest, I presume, that at the moment he is not honouring the gods. You must then honour the gods, not with shortcoming but according to your ability; and having so done, be of good cheer and hope to receive the greatest blessings. For where else should a man of sober sense look to receive great blessings if not from those who are able to help him most, and how else should he hope to obtain them save by seeking to please his helper, and how may he hope to please his helper better than by yielding him the amplest obedience?

By such words—and conduct corresponding to his words—did Socrates mould and fashion the hearts of his companions, making them at once more devout and more virtuous.[2]

IV.—But indeed with respect to justice and uprightness he not only made no secret of the opinion he held, but gave practical demonstration of it, both in private by his law-abiding and

[2] Or, "sounder of soul and more temperate as well as more pious."

helpful behaviour to all, and in public by obeying the magistrates in all that the laws enjoined, whether in the life of the city or in military service, so that he was a pattern of loyalty to the rest of the world, and on three several occasions in particular: first, when as president (Epistates) of the assembly he would not suffer the sovereign people to take an unconstitutional vote, but ventured, on the side of the laws, to resist a current of popular feeling strong enough, I think, to have daunted any other man. Again, when the Thirty tried to lay some injunction on him contrary to the laws, he refused to obey, as for instance when they forbade his conversing with the young; or again, when they ordered him and certain other citizens to arrest a man to be put to death, he stood out single-handed on the ground that the injunctions laid upon him were contrary to the laws. And lastly, when he appeared as defendant in the suit instituted by Melêtus, notwithstanding that it was customary for litigants in the law courts to humour the judges in the conduct of their arguments by flattery and supplications contrary to the laws, notwithstanding also that defendants owed their acquittal by the court to the employment of such methods, he refused to do a single thing however habitual in a court of law which was not strictly legal; and though by only a slight deflection from the strict path

he might easily have been acquitted by his judges, he preferred to abide by the laws and die rather than transgress them and live.

These views he frequently maintained in conversation, now with one and now with another, and one particular discussion with Hippias of Elis on the topic of justice and uprightness has come to my knowledge.[3]

Hippias had just arrived at Athens after a long absence, and chanced to be present when Socrates was telling some listeners how astonishing it was that if a man wanted to get another taught to be a shoemaker or carpenter or coppersmith or horseman, he would have no doubt where to send him for the purpose: "People say," he added, "that if a man wants to get his horse or his ox taught in the right way, the world is full of instructors; but if he would learn himself, or have his son or his slave taught in the way of right, he cannot tell where to find such instruction."

Hippias, catching the words, exclaimed in a bantering tone: What! still repeating the same old talk, Socrates, which I used to hear from you long ago?

Yes (answered Socrates), and what is still more strange, Hippias, it is not only the same old talk but about the same old subjects. Now you, I daresay, through versatility of knowl-

[3] Or, "I can personally vouch for."

edge, never say the same thing twice over on the same subject?

To be sure (he answered), my endeavour is to say something new on all occasions.

What (he asked) about things which you know, as for instance in a case of spelling, if any one asks you, "How many letters in Socrates, and what is their order?" I suppose you try to run off one string of letters to-day and to-morrow another? or to a question of arithmetic, "Does twice five make ten?" your answer to-day will differ from that of yesterday?

Hipp.: No; on these topics, Socrates, I do as you do and repeat myself. However, to revert to justice (and uprightness), I flatter myself I can at present furnish you with some remarks which neither you nor any one else will be able to controvert.

By Hêra! (he exclaimed), what a blessing to have discovered! Now we shall have no more divisions of opinion on points of right and wrong; judges will vote unanimously; citizens will cease wrangling; there will be no more litigation, no more party faction, states will reconcile their differences, and wars are ended. For my part I do not know how I can tear myself away from you, until I have heard from your own lips all about the grand discovery you have made.

You shall hear all in good time (Hippias an-

swered), but not until you make a plain statement of your own belief. What is justice? We have had enough of your ridiculing all the rest of the world, questioning and cross-examining first one and then the other, but never a bit will you render an account to any one yourself or state a plain opinion upon a single topic.

What, Hippias (Socrates retorted), have you not observed that I am in a chronic condition of proclaiming what I regard as just and upright?

Hipp: And pray what is this theory of yours on the subject? Let us have it in words.

Soc.: If I fail to proclaim it in words, at any rate I do so in deed and in fact. Or do you not think that a fact is worth more as evidence than a word?

Worth far more, I should say (Hippias answered), for many a man with justice and right on his lips commits injustice and wrong, but no doer of right ever was a misdoer or could possibly be.

Soc.: I ask then, have you ever heard or seen or otherwise perceived me bearing false witness or lodging malicious information, or stirring up strife among friends or political dissension in the city, or committing any other unjust and wrongful act?

No, I cannot say that I have (he answered).

Soc.: And do you not regard it as right and just to abstain from wrong?

Hipp.: Now you are caught, Socrates, plainly trying to escape from a plain statement. When asked what you believe justice to be, you keep telling us not what the just man does, but what he does not do.

Why, I thought for my part (answered Socrates) that the refusal to do wrong and injustice was a sufficient warrant in itself of righteousness and justice, but if you do not agree, see if this pleases you better: I assert that what is "lawful" is "just and righteous."

Do you mean to assert (he asked) that lawful and just are synonymous terms?

Soc.: I do.

I ask (Hippias added), for I do not perceive what you mean by lawful, nor what you mean by just.

Soc.: You understand what is meant by laws of a city or state?

Yes (he answered).

Soc.: What do you take them to be?

Hipp.: The several enactments drawn up by the citizens or members of a state in agreement as to what things should be done or left undone.

Then I presume (Socrates continued) that a member of a state who regulates his life in accordance with these enactments will be law-

abiding, while the transgressor of the same will be law-less?

Certainly (he answered).

Soc.: And I presume the law-loving citizen will do what is just and right, while the lawless man will do what is unjust and wrong?

Hipp.: Certainly.

Soc.: And I presume that he who does what is just is just, and he who does what is unjust is unjust?

Hipp.: Of course.

Soc.: It would appear, then, that the law-loving man is just, and the lawless unjust?

Then Hippias: Well, but laws, Socrates, how should any one regard as a serious matter either the laws themselves, or obedience to them, which laws the very people who made them are perpetually rejecting and altering?

Which is also true of war (Socrates replied); cities are perpetually undertaking war and then making peace again.

Most true (he answered).

Soc.: If so, what is the difference between depreciating obedience to law because laws will be repealed, and depreciating good discipline in war because peace will one day be made? But perhaps you object to enthusiasm displayed in defence of one's home and fatherland in war?

No, indeed I do not! I heartily approve of it (he answered).

Soc.: Then have you laid to heart the lesson taught by Lycurgus to the Lacedæmonians, and do you understand that if he succeeded in giving Sparta a distinction above other states, it was only by instilling into her, beyond all else, a spirit of obedience to the laws? And among magistrates and rulers in the different states, you would scarcely refuse the palm of superiority to those who best contribute to make their fellow-citizens obedient to the laws? And you would admit that any particular state in which obedience to the laws is the paramount distinction of the citizens flourishes most in peace time, and in time of war is irresistible? But, indeed, of all the blessings which a state may enjoy, none stands higher than the blessing of unanimity. "Concord among citizens"—that is the constant theme of exhortation emphasised in the councils of elders and by the choice spirits of the community;[4] at all times and everywhere through the length and breadth of Hellas it is an established law that the citizens be bound together by an oath of concord; everywhere they do actually swear this oath; not of course as implying that citizens shall all vote for the same choruses, or give their plaudits to the same flute-players, or choose the same poets, or limit themselves to the same pleasures, but simply that they shall pay obedience to the laws, since in the end that state will prove most pow-

[4] Lit., "the best men."

erful and most prosperous in which the citizens abide by these; but without concord neither can a state be well administered nor a household well organised.

And if we turn to private life, what better protection can a man have than obedience to the laws? This shall be his safeguard against penalties, his guarantee of honours at the hands of the community; it shall be a clue to thread his way through the mazes of the law courts unbewildered, secure against defeat, assured of victory. It is to him, the law-loving citizen, that men will turn in confidence when seeking a guardian of the most sacred deposits, be it of money or be it their sons or daughters. He, in the eyes of the state collectively, is trustworthy—he and no other; who alone may be depended on to render to all alike their dues—to parents and kinsmen and servants, to friends and fellow-citizens and foreigners. This is he whom the enemy will soonest trust to arrange an armistice, or a truce, or a treaty of peace. They would like to become the allies of this man, and to fight on his side. This is he to whom the allies of his country will most confidently entrust the command of their forces, or of a garrison, or their states themselves. This, again, is he who may be counted on to recompense kindness with gratitude, and who, therefore, is more sure of kindly treatment than an-

other whose sense of gratitude is duller. The most desirable among friends, the enemy of all others to be avoided, clearly he is not the person whom a foreign state would choose to go to war with; encompassed by a host of friends and exempt from foes, his very character has a charm to compel friendship and alliance, and before him hatred and hostility melt away.

And now, Hippias, I have done my part; that is my proof and demonstration that the "lawful" and "law-observant" are synonymous with the "upright" and the "just"; do you, if you hold a contrary view, instruct us.

Then Hippias: Nay, upon my soul, Socrates, I am not aware of holding any contrary opinion to what you have uttered on the theme of justice.

Soc.: But now, are you aware, Hippias, of certain unwritten laws?

Yes (he answered), those held in every part of the world, and in the same sense.

Can you then assert (asked Socrates) of these unwritten laws that men made them?

Nay, how (he answered) should that be, for how could they all have come together from the ends of the earth? and even if they had so done, men are not all of one speech?

Soc.: Whom then do you believe to have been the makers of these laws?

Hipp.: For my part, I think that the gods

must have made these laws for men, and I take it as a proof that first and foremost it is a law and custom everywhere to worship and reverence the gods.

Soc.: And, I presume, to honour parents is also customary everywhere?

Yes, that too (he answered).

Soc.: And, I presume, also the prohibition of intermarriage between parents and children?

Hipp.: No; at that point I stop, Socrates. That does not seem to me to be a law of God.

Now, why? (he asked).

Because I perceive it is not infrequently transgressed (he answered).

Soc.: Well, but there are a good many other things which people do contrary to law; only the penalty, I take it, affixed to the transgression of the divine code is certain; there is no escape for the offender after the manner in which a man may transgress the laws of man with impunity, slipping through the fingers of justice by stealth, or avoiding it by violence.

Hipp.: And what is the inevitable penalty paid by those who, being related as parents and children, intermingle in marriage?

Soc.: The greatest of all penalties; for what worse calamity can human beings suffer in the production of offspring than to misbeget?

Hipp.: But how or why should they breed them ill where nothing hinders them, being of

a good stock themselves and producing from stock as good?

Soc.: Because, forsooth, in order to produce good children, it is not simply necessary that the parents should be good and of a good stock, but that both should be equally in the prime and vigour of their bodies. Do you suppose that the seed of those who are at their prime is like theirs who either have not yet reached their prime, or whose prime is passed?

Hipp.: No, it is reasonable to expect that the seed will differ.

Soc.: And for the better—which?

Hipp.: Theirs clearly who are at their prime.

Soc.: It would seem that the seed of those who are not yet in their prime or have passed their prime is not good?

Hipp.: It seems most improbable it should be.

Soc.: Then the right way to produce children is not that way?

Hipp.: No, that is not the right way.

Soc.: Then children so produced are produced not as they ought to be?

Hipp.: So it appears to me.

What offspring then (he asked) will be ill produced, ill begotten, and ill born, if not these?

I subscribe to that opinion also (replied Hippias).

Soc.: Well, it is a custom universally re-

spected, is it not, to return good for good, and kindness with kindness?

Hipp.: Yes, a custom, but one which again is apt to be transgressed.

Soc.: Then he that so transgresses it pays penalty in finding himself isolated; bereft of friends who are good, and driven to seek after those who love him not. Or is it not so that he who does me kindness in my intercourse with him is my good friend, but if I requite not this kindness to my benefactor, I am hated by him for my ingratitude, and yet I must needs pursue after him and cling to him because of the great gain to me of his society?

Hipp.: Yes, Socrates. In all these cases, I admit, there is an implication of divine authority; that a law should in itself be loaded with the penalty of its transgression does suggest to my mind a higher than human type of legislator.

Soc.: And in your opinion, Hippias, is the legislation of the gods just and righteous, or the reverse of what is just and righteous?

Hipp.: Not the reverse of what is just and righteous, Socrates, God forbid! for scarcely could any other legislate aright, if not God himself.

Soc.: It would seem then, Hippias, the gods themselves are well pleased that "the lawful" and "the just" should be synonymous?

By such language and by such conduct,

through example and precept alike, he helped to make those who approached him more upright and more just.

V.—And now I propose to show in what way he made those who were with him more vigorous in action.[5] In the first place, as befitted one whose creed was that a basis of self-command is indispensable to any noble performance, he manifested himself to his companions as one who had pre-eminently disciplined himself; and in the next place by conversation and discussion he encouraged them to a like self-restraint beyond all others. Thus it was that he continued ever mindful himself, and was continually reminding all whom he encountered, of matters conducive to virtue; as the following discussion with Euthydemus, which has come to my knowledge, will serve to illustrate—the topic of the discussion being self-command.

Tell me, Euthydemus (he began), do you believe freedom to be a noble and magnificent acquisition, whether for a man or for a state?

I cannot conceive a nobler or more magnificent (he answered).

Soc.: Then do you believe him to be a free man who is ruled by the pleasures of the body, and thereby cannot perform what is best?

[5]Lit., "more practical," i.e., more energetic and effective.

Certainly not (he answered).

Soc.: No! for possibly to perform what is best appears to you to savour of freedom? And, again, to have some one over you who will prevent you doing the like seems a loss of freedom?

Most decidedly (he answered).

Soc.: It would seem you are decidedly of opinion that the incontinent are the reverse of free?

Euth.: Upon my word, I much suspect so.

Soc.: And does it appear to you that the incontinent man is merely hindered from doing what is noblest, or that further he is impelled to do what is most shameful?

Euth.: I think he is as much driven to the one as he is hindered from the other.

Soc.: And what sort of lords and masters are those, think you, who at once put a stop to what is best and enforce what is worst?

Euth.: Goodness knows, they must be the very worst of masters.

Soc.: And what sort of slavery do you take to be the worst?

I should say (he answered) slavery to the worst masters.

It would seem then (pursued Socrates) that the incontinent man is bound over to the worst sort of slavery, would it not?

So it appears to me (the other answered).

Soc.: And does it not appear to you that this

same beldame incontinence shuts out wisdom, which is the best of all things,[6] from mankind, and plunges them into the opposite? Does it not appear to you that she hinders men from attending to things which will be of use and benefit, and from learning to understand them; that she does so by dragging them away to things which are pleasant; and often though they are well aware of the good and of the evil, she amazes and confounds their wits and makes them choose the worse in place of the better?

Yes, so it comes to pass (he answered).

Soc.: And soundness of soul, the spirit of temperate modesty? Who has less claim to this than the incontinent man? The works of the temperate spirit and the works of incontinency are, I take it, diametrically opposed?

That, too, I admit (he answered).

Soc.: If this then be so concerning these virtues, what with regard to carefulness and devotion to all that ought to occupy us? Can anything more seriously militate against these than this same incontinence?

Nothing that I can think of (he replied).

Soc.: And can worse befall a man, think you? Can he be subjected to a more baleful influence than that which induces him to choose what is hurtful in place of what is helpful; which cajoles him to devote himself to the evil

[6] "Wisdom, the greatest good which men can possess."

and to neglect the good; which forces him, will he nill he, to do what every man in his sober senses would shrink from and avoid?

I can imagine nothing worse (he replied).

Soc.: Self-control, it is reasonable to suppose, will be the cause of opposite effects upon mankind to those of its own opposite, the want of self-control?

Euth.: It is to be supposed so.

Soc.: And this, which is the source of opposite effects to the very worst, will be the very best of things?

Euth.: That is the natural inference.

Soc.: It looks, does it not, Euthydemus, as if self-control were the best thing a man could have?

It does indeed, Socrates (he answered).

Soc.: But now, Euthydemus, has it ever occurred to you to note one fact?

What fact? (he asked).

Soc.: That, after all, incontinency is powerless to bring us to that realm of sweetness which some look upon as her peculiar province; it is not incontinency but self-control alone which has the passport to highest pleasures.

In what way? (he asked). How so?

Why, this way (Socrates answered): since incontinency will not suffer us to resist hunger and thirst, or to hold out against sexual appetite, or want of sleep (which abstinences are the

only channels to true pleasure in eating and drinking, to the joys of love, to sweet repose and blissful slumber won by those who will patiently abide and endure till each particular happiness is at the flood)[7]—it comes to this: by incontinency we are cut off from the full fruition of the more obvious and constantly recurring pleasures. To self-control, which alone enables us to endure the pains aforesaid, alone belongs the power to give us any pleasure worth remembering in these common cases.

You speak the words of truth (he answered).

Soc.: Furthermore, if there be any joy in learning aught "beautiful and good," or in patient application to such rules as may enable a man to manage his body aright, or to administer his household well, or to prove himself useful to his friends and to the state, or to dominate his enemies—which things are the sources not only of advantage but of deepest satisfaction—to the continent and self-controlled it is given to reap the fruits of them in their performance. It is the incontinent who have neither part nor lot in any one of them. Since we must be right in asserting that he is least concerned with such things who has least ability to do them, being tied down to take an interest in the pleasure which is nearest to hand.

Euthydemus replied: Socrates, you would

[7] Or, "at its season." Lit., "is as sweet as possible."

say, it seems to me, that a man who is mastered by the pleasures of the body has no concern at all with virtue.

And what is the distinction, Euthydemus (he asked), between a man devoid of self-control and the dullest of brute beasts? A man who foregoes all height of aim, who gives up searching for the best and strives only to gratify his sense of pleasure, is he better than the silliest of cattle?[8] But to the self-controlled alone is it given to discover the hid treasures. These, by word and by deed, they will pick out and make selection of them according to their kinds, choosing deliberately the good and holding aloof from the evil. Thus (he added) it is that a man reaches the zenith, as it were, of goodness and happiness, thus it is that he becomes most capable of reasoning and discussion. The very name discussion (διαλέγεσθαι) is got from people coming together and deliberating in common by picking out and selecting things (διαλέγειν) according to their kinds. A man then is bound to prepare himself as much as possible for this business, and to pursue it beyond all else with earnest resolution; for this is the right road to excellence, this will make a man fittest to lead his fellows and be a master in debate.

VI.—At this point I will endeavour to ex-

[8] I. e., he becomes an animal "feeding a blind life within the brain."

plain in what way Socrates fostered this greater "dialectic" capacity among his intimates. He held firmly to the opinion that if a man knew what each reality was, he would be able to explain this knowledge to others; but, failing the possession of that knowledge, it did not at all surprise him that men should stumble themselves and cause others to stumble also. It was for this reason that he never ceased inquiring with those who were with him into the true nature of things that are. It would be a long business certainly to go through in detail all the definitions at which he arrived; I will therefore content myself with such examples as will serve to show his method of procedure. As a first instance I will take the question of piety. The mode of investigation may be fairly represented as follows.

Tell me (said he), Euthydemus, what sort of thing you take piety to be?

Something most fair and excellent, no doubt (the other answered).

Soc.: And can you tell me what sort of person the pious man is?

I should say (he answered) he is a man who honours the gods.

Soc.: And is it allowable to honour the gods in any mode or fashion one likes?

Euth.: No; there are laws in accordance with which one must do that.

Soc.: Then he who knows these laws will know how he must honour the gods?

I think so (he answered).

Soc.: And he who knows how he must honour the gods conceives that he ought not to do so except in the manner which accords with his knowledge?[9] Is it not so?

Euth.: That is so.

Soc.: And does any man honour the gods otherwise than he thinks he ought?

I think not (he answered).

Soc.: It comes to this, then: he who knows what the law requires in reference to the gods will honour the gods in the lawful way?

Euth.: Certainly.

Soc.: But now, he who honours lawfully honours as he ought?

Euth.: I see no alternative.

Soc.: And he who honours as he ought is a pious man?

Euth.: Certainly.

Soc.: It would appear that he who knows what the law requires with respect to the gods will correctly be defined as a pious man, and that is our definition?

So it appears to me, at any rate (he replied).

Soc.: But now, with regard to human be-

[9] I. e., "his practice must square with his knowledge and be the outward expression of his belief?"

ings: is it allowable to deal with men in any way one pleases?

Euth.: No; with regard to men also, he will be a law-observing man who knows what things are lawful as concerning men, in accordance with which our dealings with one another must be conducted.

Soc.: Then those who deal with one another in this way, deal with each other as they ought?

Obviously (he answered).

Soc.: And they who deal with one another as they ought, deal well and nobly—is it not so?

Certainly (he answered).

Soc: And they who deal well and nobly by mankind are well-doers in respect of human affairs?

That would seem to follow (he replied).

Soc: I presume that those who obey the laws do what is just and right?

Without a doubt (he answered).

Soc: And by things right and just you know what sort of things are meant?

What the laws ordain (he answered).

Soc: It would seem to follow that they who do what the laws ordain both do what is right and just and what they ought?

Euth: I see no alternative.

Soc: But then, he who does what is just and right is upright and just?

I should say so myself (he answered).

Soc: And should you say that any one obeys the laws without knowing what the laws ordain?

I should not (he answered).

Soc: And do you suppose that any one who knows what things he ought to do supposes that he ought not to do them?

No, I suppose not (he answered).

Soc: And do you know of anybody doing other than what he feels bound to do?

No, I do not (he answered).

Soc: It would seem that he who knows what things are lawful [1] as concerning men does the things that are just and right?

Without a doubt (he answered).

Soc: But then, he who does what is just and right is upright and just?

Who else, if not he? (he replied).

Soc: It would seem, then, we shall have got to a right definition if we name as just and upright those who know the things which are lawful as concerning men?

That is my opinion (he answered).

Soc: And what shall we say that wisdom is? Tell me, does it seem to you that the wise are wise in what they know, or are there any who are wise in what they know not?

Euth: Clearly they are wise in what they know; for how could a man have wisdom in that which he does not know?

[1] Or, "of lawful obligation."

Soc: In fact, then, the wise are wise in knowledge?

Euth: Why, in what else should a man be wise save only in knowledge?

Soc: And is wisdom anything else than that by which a man is wise, think you?

Euth: No; that, and that only, I think.

Soc: It would seem to follow that knowledge and wisdom are the same?

Euth: So it appears to me.

Soc: May I ask, does it seem to you possible for a man to know all the things that are?

Euth: No, indeed! not the hundredth part of them, I should say.

Soc: Then it would seem that it is impossible for a man to be all-wise?

Quite impossible (he answered).

Soc: It would seem the wisdom of each is limited to his knowledge; each is wise only in what he knows?

Euth: That is my opinion.

Soc: Well! come now, Euthydemus, as concerning the good: ought we to search for the good in this way?

What way? (he asked).

Soc: Does it seem to you that the same thing is equally advantageous[2] to all?

No, I should say not (he answered).

Soc: You would say that a thing which is

[2] "Beneficial, helpful, useful."

beneficial to one is sometimes hurtful to another?

Decidedly (he replied).

Soc: And is there anything else good except that which is beneficial, should you say?

Nothing else (he answered).

Soc.: It would seem to follow that the beneficial is good relatively to him to whom it is beneficial?

That is how it appears to me (he answered).

Soc: And the beautiful: can we speak of a thing as beautiful in any other way than relatively? or can you name any beautiful thing, body, vessel, or whatever it be, which you know of as universally beautiful?

Euth: I confess I do not know of any such myself.

Soc: I presume to turn a thing to its proper use is to apply it beautifully?

Euth: Undoubtedly it is a beautiful appliance.[3]

Soc: And is this, that, and the other thing beautiful for aught else except that to which it may be beautifully applied?

Euth: No single thing else.

[3] Or, "I presume it is well and good and beautiful to use this, that, and the other thing for the purpose for which the particular thing is useful?"—"That nobody can deny (he answered)." It is impossible to convey simply the verbal play and the quasi-argumentative force of the original.

Soc: It would seem that the useful is beautiful relatively to that for which it is of use?

So it appears to me (he answered).

Soc: And what of courage, Euthydemus? I presume you rank courage among things beautiful? It is a noble quality?

Nay, one of the most noble (he answered).

Soc.: It seems that you regard courage as useful to no mean end?

Euth: Nay, rather the greatest of all ends, God knows.

Soc.: Possibly in face of terrors and dangers you would consider it an advantage to be ignorant of them?

Certainly not (he answered).

Soc: It seems that those who have no fear in face of dangers, simply because they do not know what they are, are not courageous?

Most true (he answered); or, by the same showing, a large proportion of madmen and cowards would be courageous.

Soc.: Well, and what of those who are in dread of things which are not dreadful, are they——

Euth.: Courageous, Socrates?—still less so than the former, goodness knows.

Soc: Possibly, then, you would deem those who are good in the face of terrors and dangers

to be courageous, and those who are bad in the face of the same to be cowards?

Certainly I should (he answered).

Soc: And can you suppose any other people to be good in respect of such things except those who are able to cope with them and turn them to noble account?

No; these, and these alone (he answered).

Soc: And those people who are of a kind to cope but badly with the same occurrences, it would seem, are bad?

Who else, if not they? (he asked).

Soc: May it be that both one and the other class do use these circumstances as they think they must and should?

Why, how else should they deal with them? (he asked).

Soc: Can it be said that those who are unable to cope well with them or to turn them to noble account know how they must and should deal with them?

I presume not (he answered).

Soc: It would seem to follow that those who have the knowledge how to behave are also those who have the power?[4]

Yes; these, and these alone (he said).

Soc: Well, but now, what of those who have made no egregious blunder (in the matter); can it be they cope ill with the things and circumstances we are discussing?

[4] "He who kens can."

I think not (he answered).

Soc: It would seem, conversely, that they who cope ill have made some egregious blunder?

Euth: Probably; indeed, it would appear to follow.

Soc: It would seem, then, that those who know how to cope with terrors and dangers well and nobly are courageous, and those who fail utterly of this are cowards?

So I judge them to be (he answered).

A kingdom and a tyranny were, he opined, both of them forms of government, but forms which differed from one another, in his belief; a kingdom was a government over willing men in accordance with civil law, whereas a tyranny implied the government over unwilling subjects not according to law, but so as to suit the whims and wishes of the ruler.

There were, moreover, three forms of citizens or polity: in the case where the magistrates were appointed from those who discharged the obligations prescribed by law, he held the polity to be an aristocracy (or rule of the best); where the title to office depended on rateable property, it was a plutocracy (or rule of wealth); and lastly, where all the citizens without distinction held the reins of office, that was a democracy (or rule of the people).

Let me explain his method of reply where the disputant had no clear statement to make, but without attempt at proof chose to contend that such or such a person named by himself was wiser, or more of a statesman, or more courageous, and so forth, than some other person. Socrates had a way of bringing the whole discussion back to the underlying proposition, as thus:

Soc: You state that so and so, whom you admire, is a better citizen than this other whom I admire?

The Disputant: Yes; I repeat the assertion.

Soc: But would it not have been better to inquire first what is the work or function of a good citizen?

The Disputant: Let us do so.

Soc: To begin, then, with the matter of expenditure: his superiority will be shown by his increasing the resources and lightening the expenditure of the state?

Certainly (the disputant would answer).

Soc: And in the event of war, by rendering his state superior to her antagonists?

The Disputant: Clearly.

Soc: Or on an embassy as a diplomatist, I presume, by securing friends in place of enemies?

That I should imagine (replies the disputant).

Soc: Well, and in parliamentary debate, by putting a stop to party strife and fostering civic concord?

The Disputant: That is my opinion.

By this method of bringing back the argument to its true starting-point, even the disputant himself would be affected and the truth become manifest to his mind.

His own—that is, the Socratic—method of conducting a rational discussion[5] was to proceed step by step from one point of general agreement to another: "Herein lay the real security of reasoning," he would say; and for this reason he was more successful in winning the common assent of his hearers than any one I ever knew. He had a saying that Homer had conferred on Odysseus the title of a safe, unerring orator, because he had the gift to lead the discussion from one commonly accepted opinion to another.

VII.—The frankness and simplicity with which Socrates endeavoured to declare his own opinions, in dealing with those who conversed with him, is, I think, conclusively proved by the above instances; at the same time, as I hope now to show, he was no less eager to cultivate a spirit of independence in others, which would enable them to stand alone in all transactions suited to their powers.

[5] Or, "of threading the mazes of an argument."

Of all the men I have ever known, he was most anxious to ascertain in what any of those about him was really versed; and within the range of his own knowledge he showed the greatest zeal in teaching everything which it befits the real gentleman to know; or where he was deficient in knowledge himself, he would introduce his friends to those who knew. He did not fail to teach them also up to what point it was proper for an educated man to acquire empiric knowledge of any particular matter.

To take geometry as an instance: Every one (he would say) ought to be taught geometry so far, at any rate, as to be able, if necessary, to take over or part with a piece of land, or to divide it up or assign a portion for cultivation, and in every case by geometric rule.[6] That amount of geometry was so simple indeed, and easy to learn, that it only needed ordinary application of the mind to the method of mensuration, and the student could at once ascertain the size of a piece of land, and, with the satisfaction of knowing its measurement, depart in peace. But he was unable to approve of the pursuit of geometry up to the point at which it became a study of unintelligible diagrams. What the use of these might be, he failed, he said, to see; and yet he was not unversed in these recondite matters

[6] Or, "by correct measurement;" lit., "by measurement of the earth."

himself. These things, he would say, were enough to wear out a man's life, and to hinder him from many other more useful studies.

Again, a certain practical knowledge of astronomy, a certain skill in the study of the stars, he strongly insisted on. Every one should know enough of the science to be able to discover the hour of the night or the season of the month or year, for the purposes of travel by land or sea—the march, the voyage, and the regulations of the watch; and in general, with regard to all matters connected with the night season, or with the month, or the year, it was well to have such reliable data to go upon as would serve to distinguish the various times and seasons. But these, again, were pieces of knowledge easily learnt from night sportsmen, pilots of vessels, and many others who make it their business to know such things. As to pushing the study of astronomy so far as to include a knowledge of the movements of bodies outside our own orbit, whether planets or stars of eccentric movement, or wearing oneself out endeavouring to discover their distances from the earth, their periods, and their causes, all this he strongly discountenanced; for he saw (he said) no advantage in these any more than in the former studies. And yet he was not unversed[7] in the subtleties of as-

[7] He had "heard," it is said, Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras.

tronomy any more than in those of geometry; only these, again, he insisted, were sufficient to wear out a man's lifetime, and to keep him away from many more useful pursuits.

And to speak generally, in regard of things celestial he set his face against attempts to excogitate the machinery by which the divine power performs its several operations. Not only were these matters beyond man's faculties to discover, as he believed, but the attempt to search out what the gods had not chosen to reveal could hardly (he supposed) be well pleasing in their sight. Indeed, the man who tortured his brains about such subjects stood a fair chance of losing his wits entirely, just as Anaxagoras, the headiest speculator of them all, in his attempt to explain the divine mechanism, had somewhat lost his head. Anaxagoras took on himself to assert that sun and fire are identical,[8] ignoring the fact that human beings can easily look at fire, but to gaze steadily into the face of the sun is given to no man; or that under the influence of his rays the colour of the skin changes, but under the rays of fire not. He forgot that no plant or vegetation springs from earth's bosom with healthy growth without the help of sunlight, whilst the influence of fire is to parch up everything, and to destroy life; and when he came to

[8] Or, "that the sun was simply a fire, forgetting so simple a fact as that."

speak of the sun as being a "red-hot stone" he ignored another fact, that a stone in fire neither lights up nor lasts, whereas the sun-god abides for ever with intensest brilliancy undimmed.

Socrates inculcated the study of reasoning processes, but in these, equally with the rest, he bade the student beware of vain and idle over-occupation. Up to the limit set by utility, he was ready to join in any investigation, and to follow out an argument with those who were with him; but there he stopped. He particularly urged those who were with him to pay the utmost attention to health. They would learn all it was possible to learn from adepts, and not only so, but each one individually should take pains to discover, by a lifelong observation of his own case, what particular regimen, what meat or drink, or what kind of work, best suited him; these he should turn to account with a view to leading the healthiest possible life. It would be no easy matter for any one who would follow this advice, and study his own idiosyncrasy, to find a doctor to improve either on the diagnosis or the treatment requisite.

Where any one came seeking for help which no human wisdom could supply, he would counsel him to give heed to "divination." He who has the secret of the means whereby the gods give signs to men touching their affairs can never surely find himself bereft of heavenly guidance.

VIII.—Now if any one should be disposed to set the statement of Socrates touching the divinity[9] which warned him what he ought to do or not to do, against the fact that he was sentenced to death by the board of judges, and argue that thereby Socrates stood convicted of lying and delusion in respect of this "divinity" of his, I would have him to note in the first place that, at the date of his trial, Socrates was already so far advanced in years that had he not died then his life would have reached its natural term soon afterwards; and secondly, as matters went, he escaped life's bitterest load in escaping those years which bring diminution of intellectual force to all,—instead of which he was called upon to exhibit the full robustness of his soul and acquire glory in addition, partly by the style of his defence—felicitous alike in its truthfulness, its freedom, and its rectitude—and partly by the manner in which he bore the sentence of condemnation with infinite gentleness and manliness. Since no one within the memory of man, it is admitted, ever bowed his head to death more nobly. After the sentence he must needs live for thirty days, since it was the month of the "Delia,"[1] and the law does not suffer any man to die by the hand of the public executioner un-

[9] Or, "the words of Socrates with regard to a divine something which warned him," etc.

[1] I. e., the lesser "Delian" solemnities, an annual festival instituted, it was said, by Theseus.

til the sacred embassy return from Delos. During the whole of that period (as his acquaintances without exception can testify) his life proceeded as usual. There was nothing to mark a difference between now and formerly in the even tenour of its courage; and it was a life which at all times had been a marvel of cheerfulness and calm content.

[Let us pause and ask how could man die more nobly and more beautifully than in the way described? or put it thus: dying so, then was his death most noble and most beautiful; and being the most beautiful, then was it also the most fortunate and heaven-blest; and being most blessed of heaven, then was it also most precious in the sight of God.]

And now I will mention further certain things which I have heard from Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, concerning him. He said that even after Melêtus had drawn up the indictment, he himself used to hear Socrates conversing and discussing everything rather than the suit impending, and had ventured to suggest that he ought to be considering the line of his defence, to which, in the first instance the master answered: "Do I not seem to you to have been practising that my whole life long?" And upon asking "How?" added in explanation that he had passed his days in nothing else save in dis-

tinguishing between what is just and what is unjust (right and wrong), and in doing what is right and abstaining from what is wrong; "which conduct" (he added) "I hold to be the finest possible practice for my defence"; and when he (Hermogenes), returning to the point again, pleaded with Socrates: "Do you not see, Socrates, how commonly it happens that an Athenian jury, under the influence of argument, condemns innocent people to death, and acquits real criminals?"—Socrates replied, "I assure you, Hermogenes, that each time I have essayed to give my thoughts to the defence which I am to make before the court, the divinity[2] has opposed me." And when he (Hermogenes) exclaimed, "How strange!"—"Do you find it strange" (he continued), "that to the Godhead it should appear better for me to close my life at once? Do you not know that up to the present moment there is no man whom I can admit to have spent a better or happier life than mine. Since theirs I regard as the best of lives who study best to become as good as may be, and theirs the happiest who have the liveliest sense of growth in goodness; and such, hitherto, is the happy fortune which I perceive to have fallen to my lot. To such conclusion I have come, not only in accidental intercourse with others, but by a strict comparison drawn between myself and

[2] "The divine (voice)."

others, and in this faith I continue to this day; and not I only, but my friends continue in a like persuasion with regard to me, not for the lame reason that they are my friends and love me (or else would others have been in like case as regards their friends), but because they are persuaded that by being with me they will attain to their full height of goodness. But, if I am destined to prolong my days, maybe I shall be enforced to pay in full the penalties of old age—to see and hear less keenly, to fail in intellectual force, and to leave school, as it were, more of a dunce than when I came, less learned and more forgetful,—in a word, I shall fall from my high estate, and daily grow worse in that wherein aforetime I excelled. But indeed, were it possible to remain unconscious of the change, the life left would scarcely be worth living; but given that there is a consciousness of the change, then must the existence left to live be found by comparison insipid, joyless, a death in life, devoid of life's charm. But indeed, if it is reserved for me to die unjustly, then on those who unjustly slay me lies the shame [since, given injustice is base, how can any unjust action whatsoever fail of baseness?] But for me what disgrace is it that others should fail of a just decision and right acts concerning me? . . . I see before me a long line of predecessors on this road, and I mark the reputation also among pos-

terity which they have left.[3] I note how it varies according as they did or suffered wrong, and for myself I know that I too, although I die to-day, shall obtain from mankind a consideration far different from that which will be accorded to those who put me to death. I know that undying witness will be borne me to this effect, that I never at any time did wrong to any man, or made him a worse man, but ever tried to make those better who were with me."

Such are the words which he spoke in conversation with Hermogenes and the rest. But amongst those who knew Socrates and recognised what manner of man he was, all who make virtue and perfection their pursuit still to this day cease not to lament his loss with bitterest regret, as for one who helped them in the pursuit of virtue as none else could.

To me, personally, he was what I have myself endeavoured to describe: so pious and devoutly religious that he would take no step apart from the will of heaven; so just and upright that he never did even a trifling injury to any living soul; so self-controlled, so temperate, that he never at any time chose the sweeter in place of the better; so sensible, and wise, and prudent that in distinguishing the better from the worse

[3] Or, "There floats before my eyes a vision of the many who have gone this same gate. I note their legacies of fame among posterity."

he never erred; nor had he need of any helper, but for the knowledge of these matters, his judgment was at once infallible and self-sufficing. Capable of reasonably setting forth and defining moral questions, he was also able to test others, and where they erred, to cross-examine and convict them, and so to impel and guide them in the path of virtue and noble manhood. With these characteristics, he seemed to be the very impersonation of human perfection and happiness.[4]

Such is our estimate. If the verdict fail to satisfy, I would ask those who disagree with it to place the character of any other side by side with this delineation, and then pass sentence.

[4] Or, "I look upon him as at once the best and happiest of men."

Cyrus the Great

After a Rare Etching of the Sixteenth Century, in the Vatican Library, Rome

A. M
3466

Mon. Per
1.



Mortuo Astyage auo materno, ac Dario auunculo, et socero, jure uxoris, quæ Darij medi filia unica erat hæres, triplici Mediæ Chaldeæ, et Persæ diademate cinctus, surgit nouus Monarca Cyrus, Cambysis, et Mandanis filius Exaudito Isaiæ oraculo, 70 annorũ captiuitate solutũ, hebræis datâ uenia repetendę patriæ nouam urbis, et sacri templi regiam à fundamentis reponi anno p. suę monarchię decreuit duce Zorobabele, et Iosue pontifice; in qua anno 7. obijt.

Isa. c. 45

THE CYROPÆDIA OR INSTITUTION OF CYRUS

BOOK I

THE reflection once occurred to me, how many democracies have been dissolved by men who chose to live under some other government rather than a democracy; how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies have been overthrown by the people; and how many individuals who have tried to establish tyrannies, have, some of them, been at once entirely destroyed, while others, if they have continued to reign for any length of time, have been admired as wise and fortunate men. I had observed, too, I thought, many masters, in their own private houses, some indeed having many servants, but some only very few, and yet utterly unable to keep those few entirely obedient to their commands. I considered also that herdsmen are the rulers of oxen, and horse-feeders of horses; and that, in general, all those called overseers of animals may properly be accounted the rulers of the animals of which they have the charge. I thought that I perceived all these herds more willing to obey their keepers than men their gov-

ernors; for the herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on those lands to which their keepers drive them, and abstain from those from which they repel them; and they suffer their keepers to make what use they please of the profits[1] that arise from them. Besides, I never saw a herd conspiring against its keeper, either with a view of not obeying him, or of not allowing him to enjoy the advantages arising from them; for herds are more refractory towards strangers than they are towards their keepers, and those who make profit of them; but men conspire against none sooner than against those whom they perceive attempting to rule them. While I was reflecting upon these things, I came to this judgment upon them; that to man, such is his nature, it was easier to rule every other sort of creature than to rule man. But when I considered that there was Cyrus the Persian, who had rendered many men, many cities, and many nations, obedient to him, I was then necessitated to change my opinion, and to think that to rule men is not among the things that are impossible, or even difficult, if a person undertakes it with understanding and skill. I knew that there were some who willingly obeyed Cyrus, that were many days' journey, and others that were even some months' journey, distant from him; some, too, who had never seen

[1] Milk, wool, labour in the plough, and any other profits that men can derive from them.

him, and some who knew very well that they never should see him; and yet they readily submitted to his government; for he so far excelled all other kings, as well those that had received their dominion from their forefathers, as those that had acquired it by their own efforts, that the Scythian, for example, though his people be very numerous, is unable to obtain the dominion over any other nation, but rests satisfied if he can but continue to rule his own; so it is with the Thracian king in regard to the Thracians, and with the Illyrian king in regard to the Illyrians; and so it is with other nations, as many as I have heard of; for the nations of Europe, at least, are said to be independent and detached from each other. But Cyrus, finding, in like manner, the nations of Asia independent, and setting out with a little army of Persians, obtained the dominion over the Medes by their own choice, and over the Hyrcanians in a similar manner; he subdued the Syrians, Assyrians, Arabians, Cappadocians, both the Phrygians, the Lydians, Carians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians; he had under his rule the Bactrians, Indians, and Cilicians, as well as the Sacians, Paphlagonians, and Magadidians, and many other nations of whom we cannot enumerate even the names. He had dominion over the Greeks that were settled in Asia; and, going down to the sea, over the Cyprians and Egyptians. These

nations he ruled, though they spoke neither the same language with himself nor with one another; yet he was able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world that he astonished all, and no one attempted anything against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him, that they ever desired to be governed by his opinion; and he attached to himself so many nations as it would be a labour to enumerate, which way soever we should commence our course from his palace, whether towards the east, west, north, or south. With respect to this man, therefore, as worthy of admiration, I have inquired what he was by birth, what qualities he possessed from nature, and with what education he was brought up, that he so eminently excelled in governing men. Whatever, accordingly, I have ascertained, or think that I understand, concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate.

II.—Cyrus is said to have had for his father Cambyses, king of the Persians. Cambyses was of the race of the Perseidæ, who were so called from Perseus. It is agreed that he was born of a mother named Mandane; and Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. Cyrus is described, and is still celebrated by the Barbarians, as having been most handsome in person, most humane in disposition,

most eager for knowledge, and most ambitious of honour; so that he would undergo any labour and face any danger for the sake of obtaining praise. Such is the constitution of mind and body that he is recorded to have had; and he was educated in conformity with the laws of the Persians.

These laws seem to begin with a provident care for the common good; not where they begin in most other governments; for most governments, leaving each individual to educate his children as he pleases, and the advanced in age to live as they please, enjoin their people not to steal, not to plunder, not to enter a house by violence, not to strike any one whom it is wrong to strike, not to be adulterous, not to disobey the magistrates, and other such things in like manner; and, if people transgress any of these precepts, they impose punishments upon them. But the Persian laws, by anticipation, are careful to provide from the beginning, that their citizens shall not be such as to be inclined to any action that is bad and mean. This care they take in the following manner. They have an Agora,[2] called The Free, where the King's palace and other houses for magistrates are built; all things for sale, and the dealers in them, their cries and coarsenesses, are banished from hence to some other place; that the disorder of these

[2] An open forum or square, free from buyers and sellers.

may not interfere with the regularity of those who are under instruction. This Agora, round the public courts, is divided into four parts; of these, one is for the boys, one for the youth, one for the full-grown men, and one for those who are beyond the years for military service. Each of these divisions, according to the law, attend in their several quarters; the boys and full-grown men as soon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days, when they are obliged to be present. The youth pass the night round the courts, in their light arms, except such as are married; for these are not required to do so, unless orders have been previously given them; nor is it becoming in them to be often absent. Over each of the classes there are twelve presidents, for there are twelve distinct tribes of the Persians. Those over the boys are chosen from amongst the elders, and are such as are thought likely to make them the best boys; those over the youth are chosen from amongst the full-grown men, and are such as are thought likely to make them the best youth; and over the full-grown men, such as are thought likely to render them the most expert in performing their appointed duties, and in executing the orders given by the chief magistrate. There are likewise chosen presidents over the elders, who take care that these also perform their duties. What it is prescribed to each age

to do, we shall relate, that it may be the better understood how the Persians take precautions that excellent citizens may be produced.

The boys attending the public schools, pass their time in learning justice; and say that they go for this purpose, as those with us say who go to learn to read. Their presidents spend the most part of the day in dispensing justice amongst them; for there are among the boys, as among the men, accusations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit, calumny, and other such things as naturally occur; and such as they convict of doing wrong, in any of these respects, they punish; they punish likewise such as they find guilty of false accusation; they appeal to justice also in the case of a crime for which men hate one another excessively, but for which they never go to law, that is, ingratitude; and whomsoever they find able to return a benefit, and not returning it, they punish severely. For they think that the ungrateful are careless with regard to the gods, their parents, their country, and their friends; and upon ingratitude seems closely to follow shamelessness, which appears to be the principal conductor of mankind into all that is dishonourable.

They also teach the boys self-control; and it contributes much towards their learning to control themselves, that they see every day their elders behaving themselves with discretion. They

teach them also to obey their officers; and it contributes much to this end, that they see their elders constantly obedient to their officers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much to this object, that they see that their elders do not quit their stations to satisfy their appetites, until their officers dismiss them, and that the boys themselves do not eat with their mothers, but with their teachers, and when the officers give the signal. They bring from home with them bread, and a sort of cresses to eat with it; and a cup to drink from, that, if any are thirsty, they may take water from the river.[3] They learn, besides, to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. These exercises the boys practise till they are sixteen or seventeen years of age, when they enter the class of young men.

The young men pass their time thus: For ten years after they go from the class of boys, they pass the night round the courts, as I have said before, both for the security and guard of the city, and for the sake of practising self-restraint; for this age seems most to need superintendence. During the day they keep themselves at the command of their officers, in case they want them for any public service; and when it is necessary they all wait at the courts. But whenever the king goes out to hunt, he takes half the

[3] The Araxes, on which Persepolis stood.

guard out with him, and leaves half of it behind; and this he does several times every month. Those that go out must have their bow, with a quiver, a bill or small sword in a sheath, a light shield, and two javelins, one to throw, and the other, if necessary, to use at hand. They attend to hunting as a matter of public interest, and the king, as in war, is their leader, hunting himself, and seeing that others do so; because it seems to them to be the most efficient exercise for all such things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold; it exercises them in long marches, and in running; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast that they hunt, and to throw their javelin, wherever he falls in their way; their courage must, of necessity, be often sharpened in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beasts present themselves; for they must come to blows with the animal if he comes up to them, and must be upon their guard as he approaches; so that it is not easy to find what single thing, of all that is practised in war, is not to be found in hunting. They go out to hunt provided with a dinner, larger, indeed, as is but right, than that of the boys, but in other respects the same; and during the hunt perhaps they may not eat it; but if it be necessary to remain on the ground to watch for the beast, or if for any other reason they wish to spend

more time in the hunt, they sup upon this dinner, and hunt again the next day till supper-time, and reckon these two days as but one, because they eat the food of but one day. This abstinence they practise to accustom themselves to it, so that, should it be necessary in war, they may be able to observe it. Those of this age have what they catch for meat with their bread; or, if they catch nothing, their cresses. And, if any one think that they eat without pleasure when they have cresses only with their bread, and that they drink without pleasure when they drink only water, let him recollect how pleasant barley cake or bread is to eat to one who is hungry, and how pleasant water is to drink to one who is thirsty.

The parties that remain at home pass their time in practising what they learned while they were boys, as well as other things, such as using the bow and throwing the javelin; and they pursue these exercises with mutual emulation, as there are public contests in their several accomplishments, and prizes offered; and in whichsoever of the tribes there are found the most who excel in skill, in courage, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the present commander of them, but also the person who had the instruction of them when they were boys. The magistrates likewise make use of the youth that remain at home, if they want them,

to keep guard upon any occasion, to search for malefactors, to pursue robbers, or for any other business that requires strength and agility. In these occupations the youth are exercised.

But when they have completed their ten years, they enter into the class of full-grown men; who, from the time they leave the class of youth, pass five and twenty years in the following manner. First, like the youth, they keep themselves at the command of the magistrates, that they may use their services, if it should be necessary, for the public good, in whatever employments require the exertions of such as have discretion, and are yet in vigour. If it be necessary to undertake any military expedition, they who are in this state of discipline do not march out with bows and javelins, but with what are called arms for close fight, a corselet over the breast, a shield in the left hand, such as that with which the Persians are painted, and, in the right, a large sword or bill. All the magistrates are chosen from this class, except the teachers of the boys; and, when they have completed five and twenty years in this class, they will then be something more than fifty years of age, and pass into the class of such as are elders and are so called. These elders no longer go on any military service abroad, but, remaining at home, have the dispensation of public and private justice; they take cognizance of matters of life and death,

and have the choice of all magistrates; and, if any of the youth or full-grown men fail in anything enjoined by the laws, the several magistrates of the tribes, or any one that chooses, gives information of it, when the elders hear the cause, and pass sentence upon it; and the person that is condemned remains infamous for the rest of his life.

But that the whole Persian form of government may be shown more clearly, I shall go back a little; for, from what has been already said, it may now be set forth in a very few words. The Persians are said to be in number about a hundred and twenty thousand;[4] of these no individual is excluded by law from honours and magistracies, but all are at liberty to send their boys to the public schools of justice. Those who are able to maintain their children without putting them to work, send them to these schools; they who are unable, do not send them. Those who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to pass their youth in the class of young men; they who are not so educated, have not that liberty. They who pass their term among the young men, discharging all things enjoined by the law, are allowed to be incorporated amongst the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magistracies; but they

[4] Xenophon means that this was the number of those of the better class, educated in the way here described.

who do not complete their course in the class of youth, do not pass into that of the full-grown men. Those who make their progress through the order of full-grown men unexceptionably, are then enrolled among the elders; so that the order of elders stands composed of men who have pursued their course through all things good and excellent. Such is the form of government among the Persians, and such the care bestowed upon it, by the observance of which they think that they become the best citizens. There remain to the present day proofs of the spare diet used among them, and of their carrying it off by exercise; for it is yet unbecoming among them to spit or to blow the nose, or to appear troubled with flatulency; it is unbecoming for any one to be seen going aside to make water, or for any similar cause; and to these habits they could not possibly adhere, unless they used a very temperate diet, and exhausted their moisture by exercise, so that it may pass off some other way.

These particulars I had to state concerning the Persians in general. I will now relate the actions of Cyrus, upon whose account this narrative was undertaken, beginning from his boyhood.

III.—Cyrus, till twelve years of age, or a little more, was educated under this discipline,

and evidently excelled all his equals, both in quickly learning what was necessary, and in doing everything in a becoming and manly way. At that time Astyages sent for his daughter and her son; for he was desirous to see him, having heard that he was a handsome and excellent child. Accordingly Mandane went to her father and took her son Cyrus with her. As soon as she arrived, and Cyrus knew Astyages to be his mother's father, he instantly, as being a boy naturally affectionate, embraced him, just as if he had been previously brought up with him, and had long loved him; and, observing him adorned with paint about his eyes [5] and colour [6] applied to his face, and with artificial hair, things that are customary amongst the Medes, (for purple coats, cloaks, collars about the neck, and bracelets on the wrists, are all Median decorations; but amongst the Persians at home, even at this day, their habits are much coarser, and their diet more simple,) observing this dress of his grandfather, and fixing his eyes on him, he said, "O mother, how handsome my grandfather is!" His mother then asking him which he

[5] The Medes used to tinge the lower part of the eye-lids with stibium, antimony, which had an astringent and contracting quality, and thus made the eyes seem larger than they would naturally have appeared; and large full eyes were accounted a beauty.

[6] Cerussa, white lead, to give whiteness to the skin; and anchusa, a kind of herb, to give it redness.

thought the more handsome, his father or his grandfather, Cyrus answered, "Of the Persians, mother, my father is much the most handsome; but of all the Medes that I have seen, either upon the road or at the gates of the palace, my grandfather is far the most handsome." Astyages, then, embracing Cyrus in return, put on him a fine robe, did him honour, and decorated him with colours and bracelets; and, whenever he went abroad, took him with him on a horse with a bridle of gold, just as he himself used to go about. Cyrus, being a boy fond of what was fine and honourable, was pleased with the robe, and extremely delighted at learning to ride; for, amongst the Persians, from its being difficult to breed horses, and difficult even to ride in a country so mountainous, it is a rare thing to see a horse.

Astyages, when he was supping with his daughter and Cyrus, and wished the boy to sup as agreeably as possible, that he might the less regret what he had left at home, had several dishes set before him, with sauces and meats of all kinds; when, as they relate, Cyrus said, "How much trouble, grandfather, you have at your meals, if you must stretch out your hands to all these dishes, and taste of all these kinds of meat!" "What, then," said Astyages, "do you not think this entertainment much finer than what you have in Persia?" To this question

Cyrus is said to have replied, "No, grandfather; for with us the way to be satisfied is much plainer and straighter than with you; since among us plain bread and meat conduct us to that object; you indeed pursue the same object with us, but, after rambling in many windings up and down, you at last scarcely reach the point at which we have arrived long before you." "But, child," said Astyages, "it is not with pain that we ramble through these windings; if you taste," said he, "you will find that these things are pleasant." "But, grandfather," said Cyrus, "I observe you yourself show an aversion to these dishes." "From what do you guess," inquired Astyages, "that you express such an opinion?" "Because I remark," said he, "that when you touch your bread, you do not wipe your hand upon anything, but, when you touch any one of these dishes, you immediately wipe your hand upon your napkin, as if you were quite uneasy that it had touched them." On receiving this answer Astyages said, "If you think so, then, at least eat heartily of plain meat, that you may return home a stout youth;" and as he said this, he directed various kinds of flesh, both of tame and wild animals, to be presented to him. Cyrus, when he saw this variety of meats, is reported to have said, "And do you give me all these meats, grandfather, to do with them what I please?"

"Yes, indeed," said Astyages; "I make you a present of them." Then Cyrus, taking of the several meats, is said to have distributed them to the servants about his grandfather, saying to each, "I give this to you, because you take pleasure in teaching me to ride; this to you, because you gave me a javelin, for I have it still; this to you, because you serve my grandfather well; this to you, because you honour my mother;" and to have proceeded thus, till he had distributed all the meat that he had received. Astyages then said, "And do you give nothing to this Sacian, my cup-bearer, whom I value above all?" This Sacian was a handsome person, and had the honour to introduce to Astyages any that wanted to see him, and to exclude such as he did not think it seasonable to admit. Cyrus upon this is said to have answered rather flippantly, as a boy not yet grown bashful, "For what reason is it, grandfather, that you value this Sacian so much?" Astyages replied, jestingly, "Do you not see," said he, "how properly and gracefully he pours out my wine?" For these cup-bearers to kings perform their business very cleverly; they pour in the wine without spilling, and give the cup, holding it on three fingers, and presenting it in such a manner as to put it most conveniently into the hand of the person who is to drink. "Bid the Sacian give me the cup, grandfather,"

said Cyrus, "that I also, by gracefully pouring in wine for you to drink, may gain your favour if I can." Astyages bade the Sacian give him the cup; and Cyrus, taking it, rinsed the cup so well, as he had observed the Sacian to do, settled his countenance so gravely, and brought and presented the cup to his grandfather so prettily, as to afford much laughter to his mother and Astyages. Cyrus, then, laughing out, leaped up to his grandfather, and, kissing him, cried out, "O Sacian, you are undone; I will turn you out of your office; for I will pour out wine better than you in other respects, and I will not drink the wine myself." For these cup-bearers to kings, when they give the cup, dip a little out with a smaller cup, which they pour into their left hand and swallow; so that, in case they mix poison in the cup, it may be of no profit to them. Upon this, Astyages said, joking, "And why, Cyrus, when you imitated the Sacian in everything else, did not you swallow some of the wine?" "Because, to say the truth," said he, "I was afraid there might have been poison mixed in the cup; for, when you entertained your friends upon your birthday, I plainly perceived that he had poured in poison for you all." "And how, child," said he, "did you know this?" "Because," said he, "I saw you all disordered both in mind and body; for, in the first place, what you do not allow

us boys to do, that you did yourselves; for you all cried out together, and yet could not understand each other; next you fell to singing very ridiculously; and, without attending to the singer, you swore that he sung admirably; then, though each told stories of his own strength, when you rose up and fell to dancing, you were not only unable to dance properly, but were unable even to stand upright; at length, you all entirely forgot yourselves, you, that you were king, and they, that you were their ruler; and then, for the first time, I discovered that it was equal liberty of speech that you were practising; for you never ceased to speak." Astyages then said, "Is your father, child, never intoxicated when he drinks?" "No, indeed," said he. "What does he, then?" "Why, he quenches his thirst, and suffers no further harm; for I believe, grandfather," says he, "it is not a Sacian that pours out wine for him." His mother then said, "But why, child, do you thus make war upon the Sacian?" Cyrus is said to have replied, "Why, indeed, because I hate him; for, very often, when I am desirous to run to my grandfather, this disagreeable fellow hinders me. But pray, grandfather," said he, "allow me to have the government of him for three days." "How would you govern him?" said Astyages. Cyrus replied, "Why, standing as he does, just at the entrance, when he had a

mind to go in to dinner, I would tell him that it is not yet possible for him to get his dinner, because 'he was busy with certain people:' then, when he came to supper, I would tell him that 'he was bathing:' and, if he was very eager to eat, I would tell him that 'he was with the women:' and so on, till I had tormented him as he torments me when he keeps me from you." Such amusement did he afford them at meals; at other times of the day, if he perceived his grandfather or his mother's brother in want of anything, it was difficult for any one to be beforehand with him in doing it; for Cyrus was extremely delighted to gratify them in anything that lay in his power.

But when Mandane was preparing to return home to her husband, Astyages requested her to leave Cyrus with him. She made answer, that she was willing to gratify her father in everything; but that she should think it unkind to leave the child against his will. Upon this Astyages said to Cyrus, " Child, if you will stay with me, in the first place, the Sacian shall not have the command of your access to me; but, whenever you wish to come in, it shall be in your own power to do so; and the oftener you come," said he, "the more I shall think myself obliged to you. You shall also have the use of all my horses, and of as many more as you please; and, when you go away, you shall take as many of

them as you please with you. At meals, too, you shall take whatever way you please to what appears to you to be sufficient. As for the animals that are now in the park, I give them to you; and will collect others of all kinds, which you shall hunt when you have learned to ride, and shall strike them down with your bow and javelin, as grown men do. Boys I will find you for playfellows; and, whatever else you may desire, if you tell me of it, you shall not fail to have it." When Astyages had said this, Cyrus's mother asked him whether he would stay or go. He did not at all hesitate, but at once said that he would stay. And being asked by his mother for what reason, it is said that he answered, "Because, mother, at home, I am, and am accounted, superior to my equals in age both in throwing the javelin and in shooting with the bow; but here, I well know that, in horsemanship, I am inferior to the boys of my age; and be assured, mother, this grieves me very much. But if you leave me here, and I learn to be a horseman, I conceive that when I am in Persia, I shall easily master them there, who are so good at all exercises on foot; and, when I come amongst the Medes, I shall endeavour, by becoming the best of good horsemen for my grandfather's sake, to be a support to him."

His mother is then reported to have said,

"But how, child, will you be instructed here in the knowledge of justice, when your masters are there?" "Oh, mother," said Cyrus, "I understand that accurately already." "How do you know that?" said Mandane. "Because my teacher," said he, "appointed me to give judgment to others, as being very exact in the knowledge of justice myself. But yet," added he, "for not having decided rightly, in one case, I received some stripes. The case was this: A bigger boy, who had a little coat, taking the coat off a little boy, that had a larger one, put on him his own coat, and put on himself the little boy's coat. I, therefore, giving judgment between them, decided that it was best that each should keep the coat that best fitted him. Upon this, the master beat me, telling me that, when I should be constituted judge of what fitted best, I might determine in this manner; but that when I was to judge whose the coat was, I must consider what just possession is; whether he that took a thing from another by force should have it, or he who made it or purchased it should possess it; and then he told me what was according to law was just, and that what was contrary to law was an act of violence; and impressed upon me accordingly, that a judge ought to give his opinion in conformity with the law. So, mother," said he, "I understand what is just in all cases very exactly; or, if I am at all de-

ficient, my grandfather here will teach it me." "But, child," says she, "the same things are not accounted just with your grandfather here, and yonder in Persia; for among the Medes, your grandfather has made himself master of all; but amongst the Persians, it is accounted just that each should have equal rights with his neighbours. Your father is the first to execute what is appointed by the whole state, and submits to what is appointed; his own inclination is not his standard of action, but the law. Take care, then, that you are not beaten to death at home, if you come thither having learned from your grandfather not what belongs to a king, but what belongs to a tyrant; an ingredient in which is, to think that you yourself ought to have more than all others." "Oh, mother," said Cyrus, "your father is much better able to teach one to have less than to have more. Do you not see," said he, "that he has taught all the Medes to have less than himself? Be well assured, therefore, that your father will not dismiss me, nor any one, from about him, instructed to encroach upon others."

IV.—Many remarks of this kind did Cyrus utter. At last, his mother went away; while he stayed, and was there brought up. He soon began to associate with those that were his equals in age, so as to be upon very familiar

terms with them; and he quickly attached their fathers to him, both by visiting them, and by giving evidence that he loved their children; so that, if they wanted any favour of the king, they desired their boys to ask Cyrus to obtain it for them; and Cyrus, from his benignity and love of esteem, did his utmost to effect their object. Astyages, also, whatever Cyrus asked, was unable to refuse to gratify him; for Cyrus, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him, nor ever ceased from tears; and it was clearly seen by all, that he was in the utmost fear lest he should die. In the night, if Astyages wanted anything, Cyrus was the first to perceive it, and started up, more nimbly than any one else, to serve him in anything that he thought would gratify him; so that he gained the entire love of Astyages.

Cyrus was, perhaps, a little over-talkative; but this was partly from education; because he was obliged by his master to give a reason for what he did, and to require reasons from others, when he had to give his opinion in judgment; and partly, because, from being very eager after knowledge, he was always putting questions to those about him on many subjects, to ascertain how such and such things were; and, upon whatever subjects he was questioned by others, he gave, from being of a quick apprehension, very ready answers; so that, from all

these circumstances, loquacity was contracted by him. But, as in the persons of those who, while still young, have attained an extraordinary stature, there yet appears something childish, which betrays the fewness of their years, so, in the talkativeness of Cyrus, there was no forwardness to be observed, but a certain simplicity, and affectionateness of disposition; so that a person was desirous rather to hear yet more from him than to be in his company in silence.

But when time, with increase of stature, advanced him to the age to become a young man, he then used fewer words and a gentler tone of voice; he became remarkably bashful, so as to blush when he came into the company of men of years; and that playful dog-like habit, of running up to everybody alike, he no longer retained. Thus he became more quiet, but was still in society extremely agreeable; for in whatever exercises he and his equals used to emulate each other, he did not challenge his companions to those in which he knew himself superior, but in those in which he felt himself inferior, he was the first to commence declaring that he would perform better than they. Accordingly, he would begin vaulting upon the horse, shooting with the bow, or hurling the javelin on horseback, while he was yet scarcely able to sit on a horse; and, when he was outdone, he was the first to laugh at himself; and as, on being

unsuccessful, he did not shrink from attempting again the things in which he had failed, but assiduously employed himself in endeavouring to do them better, he soon attained an equality with his companions in horsemanship, and, by his love of the exercise, soon left them behind. He rapidly, too, exhausted all the beasts in the park, pursuing, throwing at them, and killing them, so that Astyages could no longer collect animals for him. Cyrus, perceiving that, though he was desirous, he was unable to procure many living creatures for him, said to him, "Why need you take so much pains, grandfather, in seeking these animals? If you will but send me out a hunting with my uncle, I shall consider that whatever beasts I see are maintained for my use." But though he was very desirous to go out to hunt, yet he could not now be importunate, as when he was a boy; but became more backward in going to his grandfather; and as to what he had previously blamed in the Sacian, that he did not admit him to his grandfather, he became in this a Sacian to himself; for he never went in, unless he had ascertained whether it was convenient, and begged the Sacian, by all means, to signify to him when it was convenient and when not; so that the Sacian now loved him extremely, as did all other people.

When Astyages, therefore, knew that he was

extremely desirous to hunt abroad, he sent him out with his uncle, and sent some older persons on horseback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in the rugged parts of the country, and in case any beasts of the fiercer kind should show themselves. Cyrus, in consequence, was very earnest in inquiring of those that attended him, what beasts he was not to approach, and what sort of animals he might confidently pursue. They told him, that bears had destroyed many that had ventured to approach them, as well as lions, wild boars, and leopards, but that stags, antelopes, wild sheep, and wild asses, were harmless creatures. They told him, likewise, that he must guard against rough places not less than the beasts; for that many men, with their horses, had been carried headlong over precipices. Cyrus attended to all these instructions very readily; but, as soon as he saw a stag leap forth, forgetting all that he had heard, he pursued, regarding nothing but which way the animal fled; and his horse, taking a leap with him, fell somehow upon his knees, and very nearly threw him over his neck. However, Cyrus, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horse got up again. When he reached the open ground he hurled his javelin, and struck the stag down, a fine large animal; and he was most highly delighted. But his guards, riding up to him, reproved him, told him into

what danger he had run, and said that they must complain of him. Cyrus, having alighted from his horse, stood and listened to this with much uneasiness; but, hearing a shout, he sprang on his horse, as in a sort of enthusiasm, and seeing before him a boar advancing, he rode forward to meet it, and taking a good aim with his javelin, struck the boar in the forehead, and brought it down. But now his uncle, seeing his rashness, began to reprove him. Cyrus, however, notwithstanding his uncle was finding fault with him, begged that he would allow him to carry off the beasts that he had taken, and to present them to his grandfather. To this, they say, his uncle replied, "But, if he learn that it is you that have taken them, he will not only blame you, but me, for allowing you to do it." "Let him even beat me," says he, "if he will, when I have given them to him; and do you, if you will, uncle," says he, "correct me as you please; gratify me only in this." Cyaxares at last said, "Do as you please; for you seem now to be our king."

Cyrus accordingly, carrying home the beasts, presented them to his grandfather, and told him that he himself had hunted them for him. The javelins he did not show him, but laid them down, covered with blood, where he thought that he certainly would see them. Astyages said, "Child, I receive with pleasure whatever you give me; yet I am not in such want of any

of these animals, as that you should run into danger for them." "If, then, you do not want them, grandfather," said Cyrus, "pray give them to me, that I may distribute them to my companions." "Child," said Astyages, "take them, and distribute them to whom you please, and of everything else whatever you will." Cyrus, taking the beasts, carried them off and gave them to the boys; and said to them at the same time, "Boys, what very triflers were we when we hunted the beasts in the park! It seems to me the same as if one had hunted animals tied by the leg; for, first, they were within a narrow compass of ground; then the creatures were lean mangy things; one was lame, another maimed; but the beasts in the mountains and plains, how fine, how large, and how sleek did they appear! The stags, as if they had wings, leaped to the very sky; the boars, as they say brave men do, came to close quarters; and by reason of their bulk, it was impossible to miss them. These, even when they are dead," says he, "appear to me finer than those other walled-up creatures when alive. But," added he, "would your fathers, think you, allow you to go out hunting?" "Yes, very readily," said they, "if Astyages desired it." Cyrus then said, "Who is there, then, that would mention it for us to Astyages?" "Who more able," said they, "to persuade him than

yourself?" "By Jupiter," said he, "for my part, I know not what kind of person I am become; for I am neither able to speak, nor look up to my grandfather in the same manner as formerly; and, if I go on at this rate, I fear," says he, "I shall become a mere dullard and fool; yet, when I was a little boy, I was thought a wonderful talker." The boys then said, "You tell us a sad piece of news, if you will be able to do nothing for us in case of need, but, as far as depends on you, we must make our requests to some one else."

Cyrus, on hearing this remark, was annoyed, and retiring in silence, encouraged himself to venture; and, having considered how he might speak to his grandfather in the least offensive manner, and obtain for himself and the boys what they desired, went in, and began thus: "Tell me," said he, "grandfather, if one of your domestic servants should run away, and you should take him again, what would you do with him?" "What else," said he, "but put him in chains, and force him to work?" "But if he should of himself return to you, how would you act?" "What else should I do," said he, "but have him whipped, that he may do so no more, and make use of him as at first?" "It is time for you, then," said Cyrus, "to prepare a scourge to whip me, as I am contriving how to run away, and take my companions with me, to

hunt." "You have done well," said Astyages, "to tell it me beforehand; for I now order you not to stir from home. It would be a fine thing, indeed," added he, "if, for the sake of a little venison, I should send out my daughter's son to ramble at his pleasure."

Cyrus, hearing this, obeyed, and stayed at home; but he continued afflicted, melancholy-looking, and silent. Astyages, finding that he was so extremely distressed, and being willing to please him, took him out to the chase; and, assembling abundance of people, both foot and horse, and also the boys, and driving the beasts into that part of the country which was suited for riding, he made a great hunt, and being himself present, royally attended, gave orders that none should throw till Cyrus had had enough of the exercise. Cyrus, however, would not let him hinder them, but said, "If you have a mind, grandfather, that I should hunt with pleasure, let all those with me engage in the pursuit, and strive each to do his best."

Astyages then gave them permission, and, taking his stand, saw them engage with the beasts, striving to outdo each other, pursuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with Cyrus, who, from excess of joy, could not hold his tongue, but, like a young and generous dog, cried out when he approached a beast, and

encouraged every one by name. He was pleased to see him laughing at one; another he observed him to praise cordially, and without the least feeling of envy. At last Astyages, having taken abundance of game, retired; and, in other respects, was so pleased with that hunt, that he always went out with Cyrus whenever he could, and took abundance of people with him, as well as the boys, for the sake of Cyrus. Thus, for the most part, did Cyrus pass his time, contributing much pleasure and service to every one, without doing the least harm.

But, when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, the king of Assyria's son,[7] who was about to marry, had a mind at that time to hunt; and, hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of his own people and those of the Medes, having not been hunted because

[7] The king of Assyria at that time was Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, whose empire, besides Assyria and Babylonia, included Chaldæa, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine; for on the death of Sardanapalus, the king of Assyria, three other kingdoms were formed out of his dominions, the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Median. Astyages was then king of Media; but Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, united under his rule the other two kingdoms, and Nebuchadnezzar was the fourth king from him, his father having destroyed Nineveh with the assistance of Astyages, who had betrothed his daughter Amyitis to Nebuchadnezzar. He is therefore called by Xenophon the king of Assyria; while in the Book of Daniel he is called king of Babylon. The son of this Nebuchadnezzar was Evilmerodach, who succeeded his father. Usher places this hunt, and the commencement of the war to which it gave rise, in the year B. C. 581.

of the war,[8] he desired to go thither. That he might hunt, therefore, without danger, he took with him a body of horse and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beasts for him out of the thickets into the parts that were cultivated and easy to ride over. Having come, therefore, to the place where their garrisons were, and a guard attending, he took supper there, with the intention of hunting early the next morning. But, when it was evening, a guard of horse and foot arrived from the city,[9] to relieve those who were there before; and he accordingly thought that he had now a considerable army with him; for the two parties of guards were united in a body, and he himself had brought with him a large number of both horse and foot. He conceived it best, therefore, to carry off some plunder from the Median territory, as this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt; and he thought he should thus procure great abundance of beasts for sacrifice. Rising, in consequence, early in the morning, he led out his army. The foot he left in a body upon the borders; while he himself advancing up to the Median garrisons with the horse, and keeping

[8] The commentators understand the war that Nebuchadnezzar carried on with the Jews; just as if Palestine had been on the confines of Media, or as if the Medes, being united in close alliance with the Assyrians, might not have hunted on those borders. What war is meant, is uncertain.

[9] Babylon is supposed to be signified.

the best and greatest number of them with him, halted there, that the Medes in garrison might not give assistance to their countrymen against those who were to overrun the country; and such as were suited for the purpose, he sent out in parties, some to ride one way and some another; and order them to surround and seize whatever booty they met with and bring it to him. These did as they were directed.

But notice being given to Astyages, that the enemy was in the country, he marched himself, with what forces he had at hand, to the borders, and his son, likewise, with such cavalry as were with him; and he sent word to all his other forces to come and support him. When they caught sight of a great number of Assyrians, drawn up in a body, and their horses standing still, the Medes likewise came to a halt.

Cyrus, seeing others marching out in troops to support their friends, went out to join the expedition himself, putting on his arms then for the first time; having thought that the time would never come for doing so, such was his eagerness to equip himself with them; for they were very fine, and fitted him very well, being those which his grandfather had had made to suit his size. Having thus armed himself, he rode up to the rest on his horse. Astyages wondered by whose encouragement he came; however, he told him to remain near him. Cyrus, seeing a great

number of horsemen in front of him, "Grandfather," asked he, "are these men enemies, that sit there quietly on their horses?" "They are indeed enemies," said he. "And are those enemies, too, that are riding up and down?" "Yes, and those also." "By Jove, then, grandfather," said he, "they seem to be wretched fellows, and mounted upon wretched horses, that are carrying off our property; and ought not some of us to march against them?" "But do you not see, child," said he, "what a body of horse stands there in close order, who, if we advance against the others, will intercept us? And our full strength is not yet come up." "But," said Cyrus, "if you wait here, and attach to yourself those that are marching to support us, those of the enemy that are here will be under apprehension, and will not stir; but the plunderers, should they see any troops marching against them, will soon relinquish their booty." As he said this, he appeared to Astyages to say something to the purpose; and, wondering to see how sagacious and vigilant he was, he ordered his son to take a troop of horse and march against the plunderers. "And I," said he, "will bear down upon these men that are here, if they offer to move towards you; so that they shall be obliged to watch our motions."

Cyaxares, accordingly, taking some of the strongest and best, both of men and horses, set

forward; and Cyrus, seeing them start, pushed on with them, and soon, at a quick pace, got to the head of them. Cyaxares followed, and the rest were not left behind. As soon as the plunderers saw them approaching, they immediately quitted their booty and fled. Those that were with Cyrus intercepted them, and fell at once to blows with such as they overtook, and Cyrus was the first to attack. Those who had got the start, and were beyond them, they pursued in the rear, and made no pause, but captured several of them. As a generous dog that has no experience hurries headlong without caution upon a boar, so Cyrus pressed forward, minding only to strike whomsoever he overtook, and heedless of anything else. The enemy, when they saw their people in distress, moved forward their main body, judging that the pursuers would discontinue their chase as soon as they should see them advancing. Cyrus, notwithstanding, did not give over, but calling out to his uncle for joy, continued the pursuit, and, pressing on, put the enemy to an entire rout. Cyaxares followed (perhaps being in awe of his father), and the rest kept up behind, even those who would not have shown themselves very brave against men that had opposed them, being, on such an occasion, more than ordinarily eager in pursuing. Astyages, when he saw the one party so incautiously pursuing, and the

enemy in a close and regular body, marching to meet them; fearing for his son and for Cyrus, lest they, in disorder, should fall in with the enemy prepared to receive them, and suffer some harm, immediately advanced against the enemy. The enemy, as soon as they saw the Medes move forward, halted, presenting some their javelins, and some their bows, in expectation that they would halt when they came within bow-shot, as they generally had been accustomed to do; for within such a distance, when they approached nearest,[1] they would ride towards one another, and frequently skirmish till evening. But when they saw their own men in full flight towards them, and those with Cyrus following close upon them, and Astyages, with his horse, advancing within bow-shot, they gave way and fled before the enemy, who pursued them at full speed, and killed several; they fell upon all that they overtook, whether man or horse, and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they stop till they came up with the Assyrian foot; but here, fearing lest some greater force than was seen might be lying in ambuscade, they desisted. Astyages then led back his troops in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to say to Cyrus, for he knew him to be the cause of the action, and saw him almost

[1] That is, their nearest approach to each other was only within bow-shot.

mad with excess of spirit; for while the rest were retiring home, he alone, by himself, did nothing but ride round and gaze upon those that had fallen in the action. And they who were sent for the purpose could with difficulty tear him away and bring him to Astyages, while he kept his conductors constantly before him, because he saw the countenance of his grandfather grow extremely stern at the sight of him.

These things passed among the Medes, and not only all other people had Cyrus in their mouths, both in their conversation and songs, but Astyages, who before had a great esteem for him, was now struck with extraordinary admiration of him. Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was pleased to hear these things of him; but when he heard that he was taking upon him the duties of a man, he recalled him home, that he might complete the customary education among the Persians. Cyrus is reported to have said on this occasion, " That he was desirous to return, lest his father should be dissatisfied and his country should blame him." It appeared necessary, therefore, for Astyages to send him home; and he accordingly let him depart, presenting him with such horses as he desired to have, and bestowing on him many other presents, both because he had a great affection for him, and because he entertained the strongest

hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do service to his friends, and give trouble to his enemies.

All the people waited upon Cyrus at his departure, both boys, youths, men, and those in years, on horseback; as did also Astyages himself; and they said that not one turned back without shedding tears. It is said, too, that Cyrus himself shed many tears at parting; that he distributed many presents among his companions and equals in age, out of the gifts which Astyages had given him; and that, at last, taking off the Median robe that he had on, he gave it to a certain youth, thus showing that he loved him the most of all. It is told that those who had taken and accepted of these presents, returned them to Astyages, and that Astyages on receiving them, sent them to Cyrus, but that he sent them back again to the Medes, with a message to this effect: "O grandfather! if you would have me return hither again to you without shame, let every one keep what I have given him;" and that Astyages, hearing this, did as Cyrus had entreated him to do.

But, if I may be allowed to relate an amusing occurrence, it is said, that when Cyrus was going away, and they were parting from one another, his relations took leave of him with a kiss, according to the Persian custom; for the Persians retain the practice to this day; and that a

certain Mede, a person of handsome figure and excellent character, stood for a long time astonished, as it were, at the beauty of Cyrus; and that, when he saw Cyrus's relations kiss him, he stayed behind, and when the rest were gone, accosted Cyrus, and said to him, "And am I, Cyrus, the only one of all your relations that you do not know?" "What!" said Cyrus, "and are you a relation?" "Yes," said he. "This was the reason, then," said Cyrus, "that you used to gaze at me; for I recollect that you frequently did so." "For I was very desirous," said he, "to salute you, but, by the gods, was always ashamed to do it." "But," said Cyrus, "you, that are a relation ought not to have been so," and at the same time went up to him and kissed him. The Mede having received the kiss, is said to have asked this question: "And is it a custom also among the Persians to kiss relations?" "It is," said Cyrus, "when they see one another after some length of time, or are going away from one another." "It must be certainly time, then," said the Mede, "for you to kiss me again; for, as you see, I am going away." So Cyrus, kissing him again, took leave of him, and went his way. They had not gone very far before the Mede came up with him again, with his horse in a sweat; and Cyrus, observing him, said, "Have you forgotten anything that you intended to say to me?" "No,

by Jove!" said he, "but I am returning after some length of time." "Dear kinsman," said he, "it is certainly a very short length." "How a short one?" said the Mede: "do you not know, Cyrus," added he, "that the very time I am winking appears to me extremely long, because I do not then see you, who are so lovely?" Here Cyrus, from being before in tears, burst out into laughter, and bade him go his way cheerfully, as in a short time he would be with them again; so that he would be at liberty to look at him, if he pleased, without winking.

V.—Cyrus, returning thus into Persia, is said to have continued a year longer amongst the boys. At first they made jests upon him, as if he had returned to them after learning to be luxurious among the Medes. But when they saw that he dressed as they did; that he drank as they did, and with pleasure; and observed that whenever, at a festival, there were any delicacies, he was more ready to give part of his share away than to wish for any addition to it, and perceived him also in other respects superior to themselves, they then, such as were of his own age, paid him great deference. And when he had passed through the discipline of these years, and entered the class of youth, he appeared among them again superior to the rest, both in practising what was fit, in steady per-

severance, in respect to his elders, and in obedience to his governors.

In process of time, Astyages died in Media, and his son Cyaxares, brother of Cyrus's mother, succeeded to the throne of the Medes. The king of Assyria, at the same time, having overthrown all the Syrians, a numerous nation, and having made the king[2] of the Arabians his subject, having also the Hyrcanians under his dominion, and being employed in reducing the Bactrians, considered that, if he could break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain the dominion of all the people around; for the Medes seemed to be the strongest of all the neighbouring nations. He accordingly sent to all those that were subject to him, to Crœsus king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia, to both the Phrygians, to the Paphlagonians, Indians, Carians, and Cilicians, not only loading the Medes and Persians with reproach, but saying how great, how powerful, and how united in interest, these two nations were, and how they had made intermarriages with each other, and were likely, if he did not prevent them and break their power, to subdue all the neighbouring nations by attacking them one after another. Some, being persuaded by these arguments, entered into an alliance with him; and others were prevailed upon by money and presents; for of these he had abundance.

[2] He is called Aragdus, ii. I. 5.

Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, when he became aware of this design, and the preparations of those uniting against him, immediately made the utmost preparations that he was able, to oppose them. He sent to the Persians, both to the public council, and to Cambyses who was married to his sister, and was king of Persia; and he sent likewise to Cyrus, desiring him to endeavour to come as commander of the forces, if the public council of the Persians should send any; for Cyrus, by this time, had completed ten years amongst the youth, and was now ranked among the full-grown men.

As Cyrus was willing to undertake the charge, the elders, in council, chose him commander of the expedition into Media. They gave him power to choose two hundred from amongst the Equals-in-honour;[3] and to each of these two hundred they gave power to choose four of their own order. These altogether made a thousand; and to each of these thousand they gave permission to choose, from amongst the common people of Persia, ten peltasts, ten slingers, and ten archers. Thus there were ten thousand archers, ten thousand peltasts, and ten thousand slingers; and there were the thousand besides. So great was the army that was given to Cyrus. But as soon as he was chosen, he

[3] These were sons of the higher class of Persians, who could afford to have their children well educated.

began by addressing himself to the gods; and, having sacrificed with good omen, he then chose the two hundred; and, when these had afterwards chosen each their four, he assembled them together, and spoke to them, for the first time, to the following effect:

"Friends, I have chosen you, not as having now first had proof of your worth, but as having seen you, from boyhood, performing, with ardour, all things that the state judges honourable, and avoiding entirely whatever it considers disgraceful. I would now make known to you, for what reasons I, not unwillingly, have devoted myself to this undertaking, and why I have called you together. I have considered that our forefathers were in no respect inferior to ourselves. They passed their time, at least, in the constant practice of what are thought virtuous employments; but what benefit, with such a character, they acquired either for the commonwealth of Persia, or for themselves, I cannot yet discover. Yet I conceive that no virtue is practised by mankind, with a view that those who thus become deserving characters may have no advantage over the worthless. They who abstain from present pleasures, do not abstain that they may never have any enjoyment, but order their conduct thus, that by means of their present abstinence, they may, in future, have manifold more enjoyments. Those who are de-

sirous to be able speakers, do not exercise themselves in the art, that they may never cease haranguing, but in hopes that, by prevailing upon men by the power of their eloquence, they may effect many objects of great consequence. They who exercise themselves in martial affairs, do not labour in them that they may never cease fighting; but they judge that, by making themselves skilful in military matters, they shall acquire great riches, great happiness, and great honours, to themselves and to their country. And, if any have taken pains in such pursuits, and have allowed themselves to become disabled by old age before they reaped any fruits from them, they appear to me to have acted like a person, who, desiring to be a good husbandman, and sowing and planting with skill, should, when the time came for gathering the fruits, let them fall ungathered to the ground again. Or if a wrestler, after long exercise, and becoming qualified for victory, should pass his days without entering the lists, he could not, I think, justly be acquitted of folly. Let us not, friends, incur such a fate; but, since we are conscious to ourselves that from boyhood we have exercised ourselves in honourable and worthy pursuits, let us march against the enemy, whom I well know, from having myself seen them, to be far too unskilled to contend with us. For those are not very

powerful antagonists, who, though they may manage their bows, their javelins, and their horses with skill, yet, if they have to undergo toil, sink beneath it; and these men, with respect to labour are utterly inexperienced. Nor are those powerful antagonists, who, when they have to submit to want of sleep, are overcome by it; and, with respect to want of sleep, these men are wholly unpractised. Nor are those powerful antagonists, who, though able in all these respects, yet are ignorant how to deal with allies or enemies; and these men are evidently ignorant of these most important arts. But you can make use of the night, as others of the day; you regard toils as guides to a life of pleasure; you make hunger the sauce to your food; you drink water more readily than lions;[4] and you have cherished in your minds the noblest and most warlike quality in the world; for you rejoice in obtaining praise more than in all other things beside; and they that are lovers of praise, must of necessity possess the qualities for attaining it, and must therefore submit to every labour, and every danger, with pleasure.

"If I should express myself thus concerning you, while I apprehend that the case may be otherwise, I should but be guilty of self-decep-

[4] Lions are said seldom or never to pass water without drinking.

tion; for whatever point in your character shall fail of being such as I represent, the deficiency will be felt by me. But I trust that, through your experience, your good-will towards me, and the folly of our enemies, these good hopes will not deceive me. Let us then set forward with confidence, since the appearance of desiring to possess other men's property unjustly is far from us; for our enemies are coming upon us, being themselves the aggressors in wrong, and our friends call us to their assistance. What then is more just than to repel injuries, or more noble than to assist friends? I consider, too, that you ought to derive courage from this circumstance, that I do not enter upon this expedition with neglect of the gods; for you, who have conversed much with me, know that I endeavour to begin not great affairs only, but even small ones, with the sanction of the deities." In conclusion he said, "What more need I add? Make choice of your men, take them under your care, and making all other necessary arrangements, proceed to join the Medes; I, after having returned to my father, will go before you, that having learned, as soon as possible, the condition of the enemy, I may make preparations for you as well as I can, that, under the favour of heaven, we may carry on this war with the highest honour." The men did as Cyrus suggested.

VI.—Cyrus, after returning home, and making his supplications to Vesta, to Jupiter Patrius, and to the other deities, set out upon the expedition, and his father attended him on his way. As soon as they were out of the house, propitious lightning and thunder is said to have occurred. When this had taken place, they went on without seeking further auguries, as if these signals of the greatest of the gods could be misunderstood by no one. As Cyrus proceeded on his journey, his father began to discourse with him in this manner:

"That the gods send you forth propitiously and favourably, is evident, my son, both from the sacrifices and from the signs from heaven; and you yourself know it to be so; for I have purposely taught you these things, that you might not learn what the gods advise from other interpreters; but that you yourself, seeing what is to be seen, and hearing what is to be heard, might understand for yourself, and not be in the power of augurs, if they should wish to deceive you by telling you something different from what is signified by the gods; and that moreover, in case you should be without an augur, you might not be at a loss how to profit by the divine signals, but understanding, by your knowledge in divination, the advice given you by the gods, you might follow it." "And I will continue to take care, father," said Cyrus,

"as far as I can, according to your instructions, that the gods, being propitious to us, may be willing to give us their advice; for I remember to have once heard you remark, that the most likely person to obtain favour from the gods, as well as from men, is not he, who, when he is in distress, flatters them servilely, but he who, when he is most prosperous, is most mindful of them. And you used to say, that it was in the same manner that we ought to cultivate friends." "Accordingly, my son," said he, "in consequence of this care, you now approach the gods to make your requests with the more pleasure, and have better hopes of obtaining what you ask, because you feel conscious that you have never neglected them." "Certainly, father," said he, "I feel so disposed towards the gods, as to account them my friends." "And do you remember those other opinions, my son," said he, "in which we heretofore agreed? that, in all things that the gods bestow, such men as have acquired the knowledge of them succeed better in them than they who are ignorant; that the laborious succeed better than the idle; that the diligent live with more security than the careless; and that, therefore, first rendering ourselves such as we ought to be, we should then make our prayers to the gods for their blessings." "Yes, indeed," said Cyrus, "I remember to have heard such remarks from you; and

I was forced to assent to your reasoning; for I know you used to say, that it was absolute impiety, for such as had never learned to ride, to supplicate the gods for victory in a battle of cavalry; or for such as had not learned the use of the bow, to ask for superiority, in archery, over those who understood it; or for such as knew not how to steer, to pray that they might preserve ships as pilots; or for such as have not sown corn, to pray that they might have a good crop of it; or for such as are not watchful in war, to pray for safety; for that all such things were contrary to the laws of the gods; and you said, that such as made impious prayers, would probably meet with disappointment from the gods, as those would fail of success with men, who should desire things contrary to human laws."

"And have you forgotten, my son," said he, "those other matters on which you and I used once to discourse? As, that it was a great and noble work for a man to be able to take care that he himself should be a good and honourable character, and that both himself and his family should have plenty of all things necessary; and this being allowed to be a great work, that to understand how to govern other men, so that they may have all things necessary in abundance, and so that they may all be such as they ought to be, this seemed to us to be indeed an

astonishing work!" "Yes, truly, father," said he, "I remember that you said this, and it appeared also to me, that to govern well was a work of the highest nature." "And I continue now," added Cambyses, "to hold the same opinion, when I turn my thoughts to consider the duty of a ruler. But when I look to other men, and contemplate what sort of characters they are that continue to rule, and what kind of men are to be our antagonists, I think it altogether disgraceful to fear such people, and to be unwilling to go forth and engage them; men," said he, "who, to begin with these friends of ours, think that a governor ought to be distinguished from those that he governs, by faring sumptuously, by having more gold in his house, by sleeping longer, and by living, in all respects, more at ease than those whom he governs. But my opinion is," continued he, "that a governor ought to differ from the governed, not by a life of ease, but by forethought, and by his readiness to undergo labour. There are some points, however, my son, in which you will not have to contend with men, but with circumstances, which it may not be easy satisfactorily to overcome. You are aware, for instance, that if the army have not provisions, your command will be immediately at an end." "Accordingly, father," said he, "Cyaxares says, that he will supply them to all that go from hence, however great the

number be." "You go then, my son," said he, "trusting in these matters to Cyaxares's riches?" "I do," said Cyrus. "Do you know then," said he, "what those riches are?" "No, truly," said Cyrus, "I do not." "You trust then," said he, "to what is unknown to you. But do you not know that you will be in want of many things, and that you must now expend many additional sums?" "I do know it," said Cyrus. "If money, then," said he, "should fail him, or he should purposely deal falsely by you, how will the affairs of the army stand? It is plain that they will not stand very well." "But, father," added he, "if you know any means of obtaining supplies, and such as may depend upon myself, make them known to me, whilst I am yet upon friendly ground." "Do you ask, my son," said he, "if there be any means of supply depending upon yourself? And upon whom are supplies more likely to depend, than upon one who has power in his hands? You go from hence with a body of foot in exchange for which I know that you would not take any other many times as numerous; and you will have the Median cavalry, who are an excellent body of men, to support you. What nation is there then, of all those round about, that is not likely to serve you both from a desire to gain your favour, and for fear of receiving harm? These matters you ought to settle with Cyaxares, that

nothing of what is necessary for you may ever be wanting; and, for the sake of habit, you ought to devise means of obtaining supplies. But, above all things, remember never to delay procuring supplies till necessity forces you; but, while you have the greatest plenty, and before you come to want, contrive methods of replenishing; for you will obtain more readily from those, from whom you ask, when you seem not to be in want; and you will besides be blameless in the eyes of your own men. By this means, likewise, you will gain more respect from others; and if you wish to do good or harm to any, your men, while they are supplied with all that they want, will do you better service; and you will be able, be assured, to utter far more persuasive words, when you can show that you are able to do service or injury." "You appear to me, father," said Cyrus, "to make all these remarks with justice, both for other reasons, and because none of the soldiers will feel gratitude to me, for what they are now to receive; for they know upon what terms Cyaxares takes them as allies; but whatever any of them may receive in addition to what is stipulated, they will esteem a favour; and it is natural that they should pay the greatest gratitude to the bestower of it. Indeed, that a man should have a force, by means of which, through doing service to his friends, he may receive benefit in return,

and endeavour to take vengeance on his enemies, and should then be careless in securing supplies,—do you think," said he, "that such conduct would be at all less disgraceful, than it would be for a man to have lands, and servants by whose labour he might keep them in a state of cultivation, and yet to suffer the soil to lie fallow and unprofitable? Be assured, therefore," added he, "that both in the territory of friends and of enemies, I shall never neglect to devise means of supplying my men with everything necessary."

"Do you also remember certain other points, my son," said he, "that it once appeared to us necessary not to neglect?" "Do I not remember," replied Cyrus, "when I came to you for money to give a man, who pretended to have taught me the art of commanding an army, and you, as you gave me the money, asked me, 'Child,' said you, 'did this man, to whom you carry this remuneration, ever, amongst the qualifications of a general, mention anything of military economy to you? for soldiers in an army,' you observed, 'are not less in want of necessary supplies, than domestics in a family;' and when, telling you the truth, I said that he had not made the least mention of it, you asked me again, 'Whether he had said anything to me concerning the health and strength of the men? as a general ought to attend to these things,

as well as to the conduct of troops in the field.' When I answered this question in the negative, you again asked me, 'Whether he had taught me any arts by which my allies[5] might be rendered excellent at their several military duties?' and when I said 'No' to this too, you inquired again, 'Whether he had given me any instruction how I might put spirit into an army?' for you said, 'that, in every undertaking, spirit differed in the greatest possible degree from despondency.' When I answered this too in the negative, you inquired again, 'Whether he had said anything to instruct me about obedience in an army, and how a commander might best contrive to produce it.' When this also appeared to have been entirely omitted, you at last inquired of me, 'what then he had taught me, that he should say that he had taught me the art of commanding an army?' I then replied that 'he had taught me tactics;' when you, laughing, remarked to me, recapitulating each particular that you had mentioned, what benefit could there be to an army from tactics without provisions, or without health, or without a knowledge of the arts invented for conducting a war, or without obedience? When you had thus made it evident to me, that tactics were but a small part of generalship, and I asked you, whether

[5] Or this word may rather mean commilitones, fellow-soldiers, such as were of the lower order.

you were able to teach me any of these matters, you bid me go and discourse with men that were reputed knowing in military affairs, and inquire of them how all such things were managed. Upon this, I conversed with such as I had heard were experienced in these particulars. With regard to provisions, I was persuaded that what Cyaxares was going to give us would be sufficient. With respect to health, having heard and observed, that cities that want health choose physicians; and that commanders, for the sake of their men, take physicians with them; so I, when I was placed in this command, immediately attended to this point, and, I believe, father," said he, "that I have men with me that are very skilful in the art of physic." To this the father replied: "But, my son, these men that you mention are like menders of torn clothes; for so, when people are sick, physicians cure them; but your care of health is to be of a nobler kind than this; for you ought to make it your study that the army may never be diseased at all."

"By taking what course, then, father," said he, "shall I be able to do this?" "Why," replied Cambyses, "if you are to stay some time in the same place, you ought not to be careless in choosing a healthy spot for a camp; and in this you will not be deceived if you but give your attention to it; for men are continually

talking of unhealthy and healthy places, and in each kind of places the persons and complexion of the inhabitants are sure indications of their nature. But it will not be sufficient for you to look to places only, but you must remember by what means you have endeavoured to take care of yourself, so as to continue in health." Cyrus then observed, "In the first place, I study never to overload my stomach, for it is hurtful; and what goes into me I work off by exercise. By this means, health seems to me to be better retained, and vigour to be acquired." "In the same manner therefore, my son," said he, "you must take care of others." "And will the soldiers have leisure," said he, "father, to exercise themselves?" "There will not only be leisure," said the father, "but necessity; for an army that will do its duty must never be unemployed, either in distressing the enemy or securing some advantage for itself. It is a difficult matter for a single man to be maintained idle, and yet more difficult for a whole family; but most difficult of all is it to maintain an army in idleness. For in an army there are many eaters, who go out with very small supplies, and consume most lavishly whatever they may capture; so that an army ought never to be idle." "You say, father, as it seems to me," said he, "that as there is no good in an idle husbandman, so there is no good in an idle general. But, unless some

god render vain my endeavours, I take it upon me to show you a diligent and active general, and soldiers well supplied with all things necessary, and to take care that they shall be in the best condition. But, with respect to the practice of the several military arts, father, it appears to me," said he, "that he who should establish games for the several sorts of troops, and propose prizes, would make them exercise themselves best, so that he would be able to make use of men practised in every department whenever he had need of them." "You say very well, my son," said he, "for by doing so, you will, be assured, see the several divisions of your men, like sets of dancers, always performing their proper parts."

"And then," said Cyrus, "with respect to putting spirit into the soldiers, nothing seems to me more effectual, than to be able to give the men great hopes of advantage." "But," said he, "my son, this expedient is just as if any one in hunting should always encourage the dogs with the call which he uses when he has the beast in view; for at first, I know, he would find them very ready to attend to him, but, if he often deceived them, they would at last give no attention to him even when he called them with the beast in sight. It is the same with respect to these hopes; if any one should disappoint men often, after raising in them expecta-

tions of advantage, he would at last be unable to prevail over them, even when he spoke to them of hopes ever so well grounded. But, my son," continued he, "you must be cautious of saying anything that you do not certainly know; sometimes others, saying it, may produce the same effect; your own encouragement you must preserve in credit as much as possible for the greatest emergencies." "Indeed, father," said Cyrus, "in my opinion, you say well, and to act thus is to me the more agreeable method.

"But, as to rendering the soldiers obedient, I think myself, father, not wholly unskilled in that particular; for from my boyhood you taught me discipline, obliging me to be obedient to you; you then committed me to teachers, and they acted similarly; and when I was classed among the youth, our officer took strict care as to that point; and the greater number of laws appear to me to teach chiefly these two things, how to govern, and how to obey; and, on reflecting upon these matters, I think I understand that what excites most to obedience among all men is to praise and honour the obedient, and to disgrace and punish the disobedient."

"This is indeed the way, my son," said he, "to make them obey you through necessity; but to what is far better than this, to have them obey you willingly, there is another readier way;

for whomsoever men think to be more knowing than themselves in what is for their good, him they obey with the utmost pleasure. You may see that this is so in the case of many other people, and particularly in that of the sick, for you observe how readily they call in such as may prescribe what they ought to do; how readily at sea, too, the people that are on board obey their pilots; and how anxious people are not to be left behind by such as they think know roads better than themselves; but when men think that they shall incur any harm by obedience, they are not at all willing either to submit to punishments or be encouraged by rewards; for no one willingly takes even a reward to his own prejudice."

"You say, then, father," said he, "that nothing is more effectual to render men obedient than to appear to be wiser than those under command." "I do say so," said he. "And how, father," said he, "will a person be best able to raise such an opinion of himself?" "My son," replied he, "there is no readier way to appear wise in things in which you desire to appear so, than to be in reality wise in those things; and if you look to particulars, you will find that what I say is true. For if you would appear a good agriculturist, a good horseman, a good physician, a good player on the flute, or anything else whatsoever, when you really are

not so, consider how many contrivances you must use in order to make such an appearance. And if you should prevail with a great many people to commend you, that you may gain a reputation, and should procure fine instruments belonging to each of those arts, you would but deceive for a time, and soon after, when you came to give proof of your skill, you would be exposed, and appear a mere boaster."

"But how can a person become really knowing in what will be of future advantage?" "Plainly, my son," replied Cambyses, "by learning everything that he can acquire by learning, as you have learned tactics; but, with respect to what is not to be learned with the aid of men, or ascertained by human foresight, you would become more knowing than others, by inquiring of the gods by means of augury, and whatever you find most proper to be done, taking care that it be done; for to see to the execution of what is proper, is the part of a man of superior prudence, rather than to neglect it."

"But," said Cyrus, "as to being beloved by those that are under command, a point which seems to me to be among those of most importance, it is evident, that the way is the same which any one would take who should desire to be loved by his friends; for I know very well that he ought plainly to appear of service to them." "But, my son," said he, "it is a matter

of great difficulty to be always able to serve those that we would wish to serve; but to be observed to rejoice with them if any good fortune befalls them, and to grieve with them if anything ill happens; to appear zealous to assist them in their distresses, afraid lest they should miscarry in anything, and anxious to provide that they may not miscarry, these are the respects in which you should show sympathy with them. And, in action, if it be summer, the commander ought to be observed to bear more heat, and if it be winter, more cold, and in great fatigues, more exertion, than others; for all these things contribute to his being beloved by those that are under his government." "You say then, father," said he, "that a commander ought in everything to show himself more capable of endurance than those whom he commands." "I do say so," said he; "but be of good courage, my son, as to this particular; for, be assured that, with like bodies, the same labours do not equally affect the commander and the private man; glory, and the consciousness that, whatever he does, his acts are not concealed, make toils lighter to the commander."

"But when the soldiers, father, are supplied with all things necessary, when they are in health, and able to undergo labour, when they are well exercised in all the military arts, when they are ambitious to appear brave men, and

when obedience is more pleasing to them than the contrary; would not that commander be wise, in your opinion, who should then desire, upon the first opportunity, to bring them to an engagement with the enemy?" "Yes, truly," said he, "provided that he was likely to have the superiority; but if otherwise, the better I thought of myself, and the better I thought of my men, the more should I guard my advantages; just as we endeavour to secure other things, which we think of the greatest value to us, in the safest manner."

"By what means then, father," said he, "would a commander be best able to get the advantage of the enemy?" "Truly, my son," said he, "this is no contemptible or simple business about which you inquire. But be assured that he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a dissembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief, and a robber, and an encroacher upon the enemy in every way." Cyrus, laughing, cried out, "O Hercules! what sort of a man, father, do you say that I must be?" "Such a one, my son," said he, "as may yet have the strictest regard to justice and law." "Why, then," said he, "while we were boys, and while we were youths, did you teach us the direct contrary?" "So indeed we do still," said he, "with respect to friends and fellow-citizens. But were you not aware that you learned a great many mischievous arts in

order that you might be able to do harm to your enemies?" "I was not, father," said he. "For what purpose, then," said he, "did you learn to use the bow, and to throw the javelin? For what purpose did you learn to deceive wild boars with nets and trenches, and stags with snares and gins? What is the reason that, in your encounters with lions, bears, and leopards, you did not put yourself upon an equal footing with them, but endeavoured to contend against them with every advantage? Do you not know that these are all mischievous artifices, deceits, subtleties and circumventions?" "Yes, certainly," said Cyrus, "against beasts; but if I were discovered attempting to deceive a man, I remember that I used to receive a good many stripes for it." "Nor did we, I think," said he, "allow you to shoot with the bow, or hurl a javelin, at a man; but we taught you to throw at a mark, that you might not, at that time, do mischief to your friends, but that if war should happen, you might be able to take your aim at men. We instructed you, also, to practise deceit, and to take advantage, not upon men, but upon beasts, that you might not hurt your friends by these means, but that, if a war should ever happen, you might not be unpractised in them." "Then," said he, "father, if it be of use to know both how to do men good, and how to do them harm, you should have taught us how

to practise both these arts upon men." "My son," said he, "in the time of our forefathers, there is said to have been a certain teacher of youth, who, just as you desire, taught the boys both justice and injustice; to lie and not to lie; to deceive and not to deceive; to calumniate and not to calumniate; to take advantage and not to take advantage. And he distinguished which of these was to be practised towards friends, and which towards enemies, and, proceeding yet further, taught that it was even just to deceive friends for their good, and to steal the property of friends for their good. In giving these instructions, he was obliged to exercise the boys one against another in the practice of them, as they say that the Greeks teach boys to deceive in wrestling, and exercise them in it one against another, so that they may be able to put it in practice. Some, accordingly, being naturally qualified to deceive artfully, and artfully to take advantage, and, perhaps, not naturally unqualified to pursue profit for themselves, did not refrain from using their endeavours to take advantage even of their friends. In consequence, a decree was made, which we yet observe, that we should teach the boys simply, as we teach our servants in their behaviour towards us, to tell truth, not to deceive, not to take advantage; and that if they transgress in these things, we should punish them, in order that, being accustomed to

this conduct, they may become more tractable citizens. But when they arrived at the age to which you are now come, it appeared to be safe to teach them also what is lawful with respect to enemies, for, having been bred together with a regard for each other, you did not seem likely to break out afterwards so as to become lawless citizens; just as before very young people we avoid discoursing on amatory subjects, lest license being added to strong desire, they should indulge their passions to excess." "To me, therefore," said he, "father, as being a very late learner of these artifices, do not refuse to communicate them, if you know means by which I may take advantage of the enemy." "As far as is in your power, then," said he, "contrive, with your own men in the best order, to take the enemy in disorder; the enemy unarmed, with your own men armed; the enemy sleeping, with your own men waking; the enemy exposed to you, yourself being concealed from them; and you will then, while you are yourself in security, surprise them in the midst of difficulties." "And how," said he, "can a leader possibly surprise the enemy making such mistakes as these?" "Because, my son," replied Cambyses, "both the enemy and yourself must of necessity afford many opportunities of this kind; for you must both get provisions; you must both necessarily have rest; in the morning you must almost

all, at the same time, retire on necessary occasions; and in your marches, you must make use of such roads as there happen to be: considering all these things, in whatever part you know yourself to be the weakest, in that you must be the most watchful; and in whatever part you observe the enemy to be most assailable, in that you must attack him."

"Is it then in these things only," said Cyrus, "that it is possible to take advantage, or may it be done in others?" "Much more in others, my son," said he, "and more effectually; for, in reference to these things, all men, for the most part, take strict precautions, knowing that they require them. But those who would deceive the enemy, may possibly, by rendering them confident, surprise them unguarded; or, by letting themselves be pursued, may throw them into disorder, and alluring them on, by flight, into disadvantageous ground, may there attack them. But it becomes you, my son, who are fond of understanding all these affairs, not to adopt such plans only as you have been taught, but to be yourself a contriver of stratagems to put in force against the enemy; just as musicians play not only such tunes as they have been taught, but endeavour to compose other new melodies; and as, in music, such pieces as are new, and as it were in flower, are held in esteem, so, in affairs of war, new con-

trivances are much more approved, for they are more effective in deceiving the enemy. But, my son," continued he, "if you do no more than transfer to men those contrivances which you have used to insnare small animals, do you not think that you will go a great way in the art of taking advantage of your enemy? For, in order to catch birds, you used to rise and go out in the night, in the severest winter; and before the birds were stirring your snares were laid ready for them; the moveable platform was made like the unmoved ground; birds were taught by you to serve your purposes, and to deceive those of their own kind; you yourself lay hid, so as to see them, but not to be seen by them; and you practised drawing your nets before the birds could escape. For the hare, too, because she feeds in the dusk, and conceals herself by day, you kept dogs, to find her by the scent; and, because she ran off as soon as she was found, you had other dogs prepared to overtake her on her track; and if she escaped these, then, having before discovered her paths, and to what sort of places hares flee, and are caught, you would lay, in these places, nets difficult to be seen, and the hare, in the impetuosity of flight, would fall into them and entangle herself. And that she might not escape from hence, you would set people to watch what passed, who, from some place near at hand, would presently be upon her; you

yourself shouting behind, with noise that never quits her, would overwhelm her with amazement, so that in this distraction she would be taken: and you would make those that are set to watch lie concealed, having instructed them beforehand to be silent. As I said before, therefore, if you would form such contrivances against men, I do not know that you would leave one of the enemy alive. But if it ever be necessary to fight upon even terms with respect to situation, openly, and both parties being fully armed, in such a case, my son, those advantages, that have been long before secured, are of great weight; those which I mean are, when the bodies of your men are duly exercised, their minds keen, and all military arts well studied. Besides, it is very necessary that you should understand, that whomsoever you desire to be obedient to you, they, on their part, will all desire you to be provident for them; never be remiss, therefore, but consider at night what your men shall do when it is day; and consider in the day how matters may be best settled for the night. But as to the mode in which you should arrange your troops for battle; how you should lead them, by day or night, through narrow or open ways, through mountains or plains; how you should encamp; how you should place sentinels by night and day; how you should advance towards the enemy, or retreat from them; how

you should march past a city belonging to the enemy; how you should advance up to a rampart, or retreat from it; how you should pass through woods or rivers; how you should guard against cavalry, or javelin-men, or archers; how, if, when you are marching in columns, the enemy should appear, you should form a front against them; how, if, when you are marching in phalanx, the enemy appear in some other part than in front, you should advance upon them; how you may get the best intelligence of the enemy's affairs, and how the enemy may be best kept in ignorance of yours; what, on all these subjects, can I say to you? What I know of them, you have often heard from me; and whoever else appeared knowing in any such matters, you have not neglected to get information from them; nor are you ignorant of them; according to circumstances, therefore, you must turn these acquirements to advantage, as it may seem fit.

"Take my instructions, my son," said he, "likewise, on the following points, which are of the greatest importance: Never run into danger, either in your own person, or with your army, contrary to the sacrifices and auguries; reflecting how men engage in undertakings on conjecture, and without knowing in the least from what course of conduct benefits will result to them. This you may see from the things themselves that happen; for many men, and

such, too, as were thought to be very wise, have persuaded people to undertake war against those by whom those that were persuaded to be the aggressors have been destroyed. Many, also, have exalted both private men and cities, from whom, when exalted, they have suffered the greatest misfortunes. Many, too, having chosen rather to treat those as slaves than as friends, whom they might have treated as friends, giving and receiving reciprocal benefits, have met with retaliation at their hands. To many, likewise, it has not been sufficient to live in pleasure, possessing their own proper share of things; but, desiring to be lords of all, they have by this means lost what they had; and many, who have acquired the much wished for metal, gold, have perished by means of it. Thus human wisdom knows no more how to choose what is best, than a man who, casting lots, should do whatever might chance to fall to him. But the ever-living gods, my son, know all things that have been, all things that are, and everything that shall happen from every other thing; and of such as consult them, they foreshow to those to whom they are propitious, what they ought and what they ought not to do. If they will not give advice to all, it is by no means wonderful; for no necessity obliges them to take care of those of whom they are unwilling to take care."

THE CYROPÆDIA

BOOK II

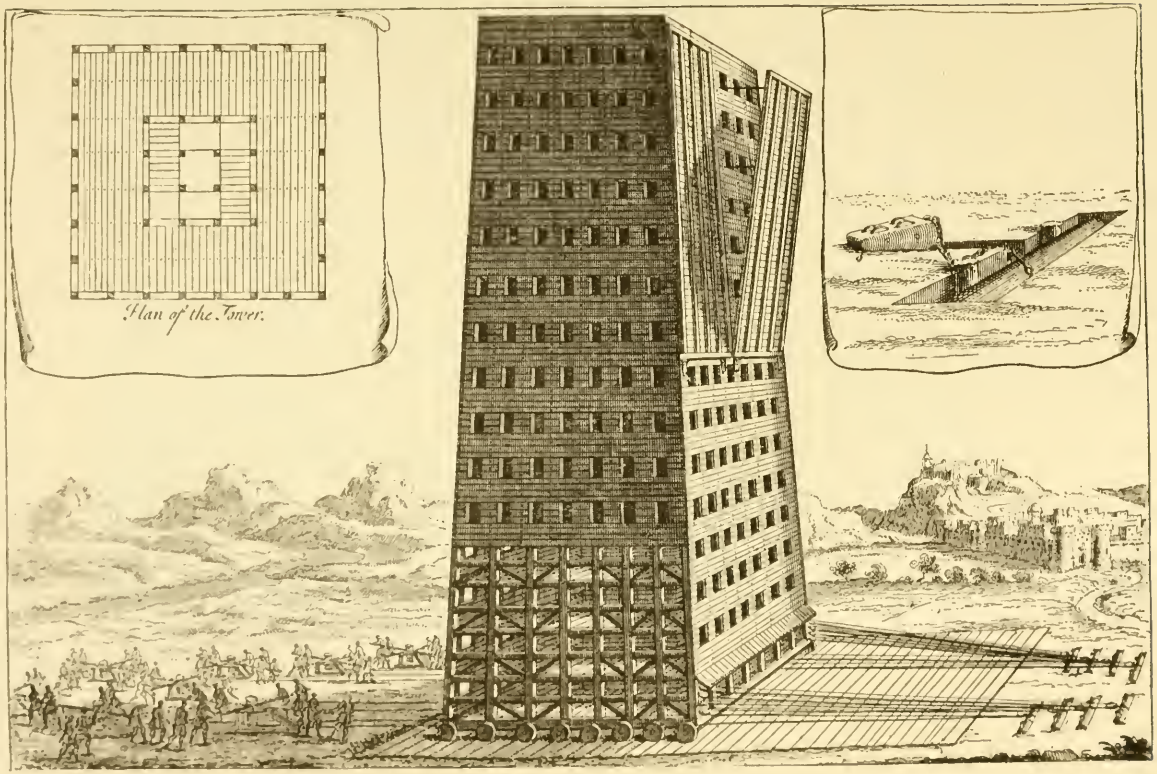
DISCOURSING on such subjects, they arrived at the borders of Persia; and as an eagle, appearing to the right, led the way before them, they made their supplications to the gods and heroes who presided over the land of Persia, to send them away favourably and propitiously, and crossed the borders. When they had crossed them, they again made supplication to the gods who preside over the land of Media, to receive them propitiously and favourably; and, having done so, and embraced each other, according to custom, the father returned into Persia, and Cyrus marched on into Media to join Cyaxares.

When Cyrus came to Cyaxares in Media, they first embraced each other, according to custom, and Cyaxares then asked Cyrus, "How large a force he was bringing him." He replied, "Thirty thousand of such as used to come to you before as mercenary troops, but there are others coming who have never served out of their own country, of the order of the Equals-in-honour." "How many?" said Cyaxares.



Besieging Tower with Drawbridges

Diagram showing Construction of the Tower and Method of Moving. After an Etching of the Eighteenth Century, now in the British Museum


Plan of the Tower.

"The number of them," replied Cyrus, "will scarcely please you, when you hear it; but consider," said he, "that those who are called the Equals-in-honour, though but few, rule with ease the rest of the Persians, who are very numerous. But," added he, "are you in any real want of these men, or are you under a vain alarm, and the enemy not coming?" "Assuredly they are," said he, "and in great numbers." "How does this appear?" "Because a great many people, who come from that quarter, some one way and some another, all tell the same tale." "We must then," said Cyrus, "engage with these men." "We must of necessity," replied Cyaxares. "Why do you not tell me then," said Cyrus, "if you know, what the number of these forces is, that are coming upon us, and what is the number of our own, that knowing the strength of both, we may consult how to carry on the war in the best manner?" "Hear then," said Cyaxares: "Crœsus, the Lydian, is said to be bringing with him ten thousand horse, and upwards of forty thousand peltasts and archers; they say, too, that Arsamas, governor of Greater Phrygia, is bringing horse to the number of eight thousand, and lancers and peltasts not less than forty thousand; that Aribæus, king of the Cappadocians, brings horse to the number of six thousand, and archers and peltasts not less than thirty thou-

sand; and that Aragdus, the Arabian, is bringing cavalry as many as ten thousand, a hundred chariots, and a very large body of slingers. As to the Greeks that are settled in Asia, there is no certain intelligence as yet whether they have joined the expedition or not. But they say that Gabæus has assembled in the Caystrian plain,[1] from Phrygia on the Hellespont, six thousand horse, and peltasts to the number of ten thousand. The Carians, Cilicians, and Paphlagonians, though summoned, they say, do not join the expedition. The Assyrian king, who possesses Babylon and the rest of Assyria, will, as I conjecture, bring not less than twenty thousand horse; chariots, I am well aware, not fewer than two hundred; and, I believe, a vast body of foot; at least he was accustomed to do so when he invaded this country." "The enemy then," said Cyrus, "you say, amount to sixty thousand horse, and more than two hundred thousand peltasts and archers. But what then do you say is the number of your own forces?" "Of the Medes," said Cyaxares, "the cavalry are above ten thousand; the peltasts and archers may be, perhaps, from such a territory as ours, about sixty thousand; and of the Armenians, our neighbours, there will be with us four

[1] Either that plain of Caystrus which is mentioned in the Anabasis, or, as is more probable, the plain through which the river Cayster flowed.

thousand horse and twenty thousand foot." "You say then," said Cyrus, "that our cavalry will be less than a third part of the enemy's, and our foot about half the number of theirs." "What, then," said Cyaxares, "do you think that those Persians, whom you say you bring, are but an inconsiderable number?" "Whether we want more men," said Cyrus, "or not, we will consider hereafter; at present, pray tell me what is the mode of fighting that is in use with those several people." "It is nearly the same amongst them all," said Cyaxares; "there are archers and lancers among them, just like ours." "Then," said Cyrus, "since such are their arms, they must necessarily skirmish at a distance." "Necessarily," said Cyaxares. "In this case, therefore," said Cyrus, "the victory will fall to the greater number; for the few will be much sooner wounded and destroyed by the many, than the many by the few." "If such be the case, Cyrus," said he, "what better expedient can we find than to send to the Persians, acquaint them that, if the Medes sustain any harm, the danger will extend to themselves, and, at the same time, request of them a greater force?" "Be well assured," said Cyrus, "that even if all the Persians should come, we should not exceed the enemy in numbers." "What plan have you in view, then, that is better than this?" "Why," said Cyrus, "if I had the

power, I would immediately make, for all the Persians that are coming, such arms as those with which the Equals-in-honour come provided; and these are, a corselet over the breast, a shield for the left hand, and a bill, or short sword, for the right. If you provide these arms, you will make it safest for us to come to close fight with the enemy, and better for the enemy to flee than to stand their ground. Ourselves," said he, "we range against those that stand; those that flee we leave to you and your horse, that they may have no time either to make their escape or to turn again." Thus Cyrus suggested; and Cyaxares was of opinion that what he said was reasonable, and thought no longer of sending for more men, but proceeded to provide the arms already mentioned; and they were scarcely ready when the Equals-in-honour arrived from Persia, bringing the Persian army with them.

Soon after, Cyrus is said to have called them together, and to have addressed them thus: "My friends, I, who saw that you were armed, and prepared in mind for close combat with the enemy, and knew that the Persians who attend you were armed only in such manner as to skirmish from a distance, was afraid that, being but few in number, and destitute of others to support you, you might, when you fell in with the great number of the enemy, incur some mis-

fortune. Now, therefore, you are come," said he, "you bring with you men whose bodies are not to be despised; and they are to be supplied with arms like our own; but to raise their courage will be our part. For it is the duty of an officer not only to be brave himself, but to take such care of those that he commands, that they may be as brave as is possible."

Thus spoke Cyrus; and they were all much pleased, seeing they should now engage the enemy with more to support them; and one of them spoke to this effect: "Perhaps," said he, "I may be thought to talk strangely, if I advise Cyrus to say something on our behalf, when these men who are to be our fellow-combatants, receive their arms; for I know," said he, "that the words of those who have the most power to do service or injury, sink deepest into the minds of the hearers; and if such men make presents, though they may happen to be less than those which men receive from their equals, yet the receivers value them more. Accordingly," said he, "our Persian supporters will be much more pleased on this occasion, if they receive an exhortation from Cyrus, than if they receive one from us. And when they are placed in the degree of the Equals-in-honour, they will think that they occupy it more securely, if the honour is conferred by the son of our king, and our commander-in-chief, than if they receive it

from us. Nor ought endeavours to be wanting on our part; but we should, ourselves, by every possible means excite these men's courage; for the more courageous they become, the more will it be for our advantage."

Cyrus, therefore, causing the arms to be arranged in a place open to view, and calling together all the Persian soldiers, spoke to the following effect: "Men of Persia, you were born and bred in the same country with ourselves; you have bodies in no respect inferior to ours, and you ought to have souls not inferior. But though you are such in yourselves, you were not, in our own country, upon an equal footing with us. It was not by us that you were excluded from it, but by the necessity that you were under of providing yourselves with subsistence. But now, with the help of the gods, it shall be my care that you be supplied with these; and it is permitted you, if you think proper, by accepting these arms, which are such as we have ourselves, to engage in the same enterprises with us; and, if anything honourable and advantageous result from them, to be honoured with the same distinctions as ourselves. Hitherto you have used the bow and the javelin as we have; and if you were inferior to us in the exercise of these weapons, it is not at all wonderful; for you had not the leisure that we had, to improve yourselves in them. But,

with these arms, we shall have no advantage over you, for every one will have a corselet fitted to his breast, a shield for the left hand, which we are all alike accustomed to carry; and, for the right, a bill or short sword, which we are to use against the enemy, guarding against nothing but that we may not miss our blow. With these arms, then, what difference can there be between one and another of us, unless it be in courage, which you ought to cherish not less than we? As to the desire of victory, which gains and secures all that is honourable and advantageous, how can it concern us more than you? As to superior power in arms, which gives all the possessions of the conquered to the conquerors, how is it possible that we should long for it more than you?" In conclusion, he said, "You have heard all; you see the arms before you; let him that thinks fit take them, and enroll himself under his officer in the same rank with us. But he that is content to be in the condition of a mercenary, let him continue in servile arms." Thus he spoke; and the Persians that heard him were of opinion, that if, when they were invited to an equal share of advantages, by sharing in like labours, they should not accept the offer, they would justly pass all their days in a low condition. They all accordingly enrolled themselves, and all took the arms.

During the time that the enemy was said to be approaching, but had not yet arrived, Cyrus endeavoured to exercise his men so that they might acquire vigour; to teach them military evolutions, and to excite their minds to warlike enterprise. In the first place, being supplied with servants by Cyaxares, he ordered them to furnish all the soldiers, liberally, with everything that they wanted, ready prepared. By providing for them in this way, he left them nothing to do but to exercise themselves in such things as related to war, appearing to have convinced himself of the truth of this maxim, that those men become most skilful in anything, who, abstaining from giving their attention to many occupations, apply themselves to one employment only. And of exercises relating to war, he relieved them from practice with the bow and javelin, and left them only one object of attention, to fight with sword, shield, and corselet. He accordingly soon brought their minds to this state, that they found they must either engage the enemy hand to hand, or confess that they were allies of no value; and this was hard to be owned by such as knew they were maintained for nothing else but to fight for those that maintained them. Having considered, too, that in whatever things there are emulations among mankind, they are much more willing to exercise themselves in them, he appointed con-

tests among his men in whatever he knew was of importance to be practised by soldiers.

The particulars which he specified were these: for the private man, to render himself obedient to his commanders, ready to undergo labour, willing to face dangers consistently with good order, skilful in military exercises, fond of having his arms in good condition, and desirous of praise in all such matters. For the captain of five, to make himself such as it became an able private man to be; and to do his utmost to make his five likewise such. For the captain of ten, to make his ten such; for the captain of twenty-five, to do the same for his twenty-five; and for the centurion, to be himself unexceptionable in conduct, and to keep watch over those who commanded under him, that they might make those whom they commanded fulfil their duties. The rewards that he proposed were, for the centurions, that those who appeared to have brought their companies into the best condition, should be made commanders of a thousand; for the captains of twenty-five, that those who appeared to exhibit the best companies, should be promoted to the places vacated by the centurions; for the captains of ten, that such as were most meritorious should be put into the places of the captains of twenty-five; for the captains of five, in like manner, to be advanced to the places of the captains of ten; and for the private

men that behaved best, to be promoted to the rank of captains of five. It happened to all these officers, accordingly, that they were well served by those whom they commanded, and that all the honours suitable to each were readily paid to them. Greater hopes, too, were held out to such as deserved praise, in case any more than ordinary advantage should hereafter present itself. He offered also rewards, in case of victory, to whole companies of a hundred and of twenty-five, as well as to those of ten and five, if they proved themselves eminently obedient to their officers, and zealous in performing the duties above mentioned. These rewards were such as were proper to be bestowed in common upon a number of men. Such were the things which were proclaimed, and in which the soldiers were exercised.

Tents he likewise provided for them, as many in number as were the centurions, and of such a size that each would contain a company; a company consisting of a hundred men. Thus they were quartered in tents by companies. The men seemed to him to be benefited, with a view to the war that was coming on, by thus dwelling together, inasmuch as they saw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a disadvantage, so that any one should be remiss, or that one should be inferior to another for acting against the enemy. They ap-

peared to him likewise to be benefited by this joint habitation in knowing one another; for, from being known, a greater feeling of self-respect seems to be produced in all men; and they who are unknown appear to act with less restraint, like persons in the dark. They seemed to him also to be improved by this co-habitation, in having an exact knowledge of their places and companies; for thus the centurions had their several companies in order under them, just as much as when the company was going one by one upon a march; so the captains of twenty-five their twenty-fives; the commanders of tens their tens; and the commanders of five their fives: and this exact knowledge of their places seemed to him to be of great service, both to prevent their being put into disorder, and, if they should be disordered, to enable them to rally more readily; as in the case of stones and pieces of wood, that are to be fitted together, it is possible, if they have certain marks to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, to fit them together again with ease, however confusedly they may have been thrown down. They seemed to him, moreover, to be benefited by living together, inasmuch as they would be less likely to desert one another; because he observed that beasts, which were fed together, were in great trouble if any one separated them from each other.

Cyrus also took care that they should never go in to their dinner or supper without previous exercise; for he either led them out to hunt, and gave them exercise in that way, or contrived such sports for them as would make them exert themselves; or, if he happened to want anything done, he so managed it, that they should not return without hard exercise; for this he judged to be of service, in order to make them eat with pleasure, and to render them healthy and able to undergo labour; and labour he judged to be of use in making them more gentle one towards another, because even horses, that labour jointly together, stand likewise more contentedly together. And certainly with regard to facing the enemy, those who are conscious of having duly exercised themselves, are inspired with more boldness.

Cyrus likewise provided himself with such a tent as would be large enough to contain those that he invited to sup with him. He invited, for the most part, such of the centurions as he thought proper; but he sometimes invited some of the captains of twenty-five, some of the captains of ten, and some of the commanders of five; sometimes some of the private soldiers, and sometimes a whole company of five, a whole one of ten, a whole twenty-five, or a whole hundred together. He invited likewise, and rewarded, such as he saw practise anything that he wished

all the others to imitate. And the dishes that were set before himself, and before those that he invited to supper, were always alike. The attendants on the soldiers, too, he always made equal sharers in everything; for he thought it not less becoming him to distinguish those who served in the concerns of the army, than to honour heralds and ambassadors; as he was aware they ought to be faithful, skilled in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous, quick of despatch, diligent, and orderly. Besides, whatever good qualities those had who were accounted the better class, Cyrus thought that the attendants should have those qualities likewise; and that they should bring themselves, by practice, to refuse no work, but to consider it becoming them to do everything that their commander should enjoin.

II.—Cyrus always took care that, when he entertained any of the men in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good conduct, should be introduced. On one occasion, therefore, he began to speak thus: "Friends," said he, "do the newly-attached[2] appear inferior to us for this reason, that they have not been disciplined in the same manner as we have? Or are they

[2] Those whom Cyrus had lately promoted to the rank of the Equals-in-honour.

likely not to differ from us at all, either in their converse with us, or in action against the enemy?" Hystaspes, in answer to him, said, "What they will prove to be in action against the enemy, I do not yet know; but, by the gods, some of them have shown themselves ill-bred enough in company. Yesterday, for instance," continued he, "Cyaxares sent certain animals to be killed for each company of a hundred; and there were three or more pieces of flesh carried round for each of us. The cook began the first round with me, and when he came in to go round the second time, I bid him begin with the last man, and carry round the contrary way. One, therefore, in the middle of the circle of soldiers, as they sat, cried out, 'By Jove, there is no fairness in this, if nobody ever begins with us here in the middle.' I, hearing this, was uneasy that any of them should think they lay under a disadvantage, and immediately bid him come to me; in this he, in a very orderly manner, obeyed me; but when the portions carried round came to us who were to take last, only the least were left; and upon this he plainly showed himself very much dissatisfied, and said to himself, 'O, ill fortune! that I should happen now to have been called hither!' I then said to him, 'Never mind; he will begin presently with us, and you shall help yourself first to the largest piece.' Just at this moment the cook

began to carry round the third time what was left for distribution, and he took next after me; but as soon as the third person had taken, and seemed to have taken a larger portion than himself, he threw down that which he had taken, intending to take another; but the cook, supposing that he wanted no more meat, carried it past him before he could take a second piece. He now bore so ill the misfortune of losing what he had taken, that from forgetting his self-command, and being angry at his ill-fortune, he overturned in his impatience what sauce he had remaining. The captain, who was next us, seeing this, clapped his hands, and laughed out, much amused; I," added Hystaspes, "made as if I coughed, for I was not able to refrain from laughing. Cyrus," said he, "such a man do I show you one of our new companions to be." Upon this, as was natural, they all laughed.

Another of the centurions then said, "Hystaspes, it seems, Cyrus, has met with one of a very perverse temper. For my part, after you had taught us the discipline of our companies, and had dismissed us with commands to teach every one his company what he had learned from you, I, as the others did, went away and began to teach one of the companies. Having placed the captain first, a young man immediately behind him, and the rest as I thought proper, I then, standing in front, and looking

towards the company, gave the order, when I thought it time, to advance. This young man, advancing before the captain, marched on first; I, seeing him do thus, said to him, 'Young man, what are you doing?' He said, 'I am advancing, as you order.' But, said I, 'I did not order you only to advance, but all;' when he, turning to his companions, said, 'Do you not hear him finding fault? He tells you all to advance.' Upon this, all the men, passing by the captain, came up to me; but when the captain made them go back again, they were offended, and said, 'Whom are we to obey? for one tells us to advance, and another will not allow us to do so.' Bearing all this patiently, and placing them as at first, I told them, that none of those behind should move till he that was before him led the way, and that they should all mind only to follow the leader. But as a person, that was going to Persia, happened then to come to me, and ask me for a letter that I had written home, I told the captain (for he knew where the letter was lying), to run and fetch the letter; he then began to run; and the young man that was next him, armed as he was, with corselet and sword, followed after the captain; and the rest of the company, seeing him run, ran off with him; and so they came back, bringing me the letter. So exact," said he, "is this company of mine in executing all the instructions they receive from

you." The rest, as was natural, laughed at this armed procession with the letter; but Cyrus said, "O Jove, and all ye gods! what sort of men have we for our companions! Men so easily pleased, that we may render numbers of them our friends with the aid of a small piece of meat; and so obedient, that they obey before they understand what they are ordered to do. For my part, I do not know what sort of soldiers we should wish to have, rather than such!" Cyrus thus, laughing, commended the soldiers.

There happened at that time to be in the tent a certain centurion whose name was Aglaitadas, an austere sort of man in his manners, who spoke thus: "Do you think, Cyrus," said he, "that these men tell truth in these stories?" "Why, what end," said Cyrus, "can they have in telling falsehood?" "What other end," said he, "but to make you laugh? For this reason, they tell you these stories like boasters, as they are." "Speak civilly, pray!" said Cyrus: "and do not say that these men are boasters; for the term boaster seems to me applicable to such as feign themselves richer or braver than they really are, and undertake to do what they are not able to do, and evidently show that they act thus with a view to gaining something and making profit. But why may not those who move their companions to laughter, neither for their own gain, nor to the hearers' loss, nor for

any ill purpose, be more justly called polite and agreeable than boastful?" Thus did Cyrus apologize for such as afforded matter of laughter. The captain, who had told the pleasant story of the company of soldiers, then observed, "Assuredly, Aglaitadas, you would have blamed us most severely if we had endeavoured to make you weep (like some who, in songs and discourses, speaking of certain melancholy subjects, try to move people to tears), when you now, though you know that we are desirous to give you pleasure, and do you no harm, lay us under so much censure!" "By Jove," said Aglaitadas, "I do lay you under censure, and justly; because he that makes laughter for his friends, seems to me, frequently, to do them much less service than he who makes them weep; you will therefore find, if you consider rightly, that I speak with reason. Fathers, for instance, instil discretion into their sons, and teachers useful instruction into their pupils, by exciting tears; and the laws lead citizens, by making them weep, to the observance of justice. But can you say that movers of laughter either do any service to the bodies of men, or render their minds fitter for the conduct of private or public affairs?" Upon this, Hystaspes remarked, "Aglaitadas, if you will follow my advice, you will boldly expend this very valuable commodity upon our enemies,

and endeavour to set them to weep; but that worthless thing, laughter, you will by all means spend upon us, your friends here. I know you have a great deal of it lying by you in store; for you neither expend it by using it on yourself, nor do you, willingly at least, bestow it either on your friends or on strangers; so that you have no pretext for refusing to communicate it to us." "Do you think then," said Aglaitadas, "to extract laughter out of me?" "By Jove," exclaimed the centurion, "he would be a fool indeed if he did; for I believe one may with greater ease strike fire out of you, than draw laughter from you." At this the others laughed, knowing the temper of the man; and Aglaitadas himself smiled; while Cyrus, seeing him look pleased, said, "Indeed, centurion, you are wrong to corrupt the most serious man we have, by tempting him to laugh; especially when he is so great an enemy to laughter!" Such was the conversation that took place on this subject.

Chrysantas then said, "Cyrus, I, and all that are here present, consider that though, of the men who have come out with us, some are of greater and some of less merit, yet that, if any advantage fall to our lot, they will all think themselves entitled to an equal share of it; but, for my part, I think that nothing among men can be more unfair, than that the good and the bad should claim an equal share of benefits."

To this observation Cyrus rejoined, "It would be best, then, by the gods, my friends, to propose this matter as a subject of debate to the army, whether it be proper, if the gods give us any profit from our labours, that we should make all equal sharers in it; or that, taking into consideration the actions of each, we should give rewards to each accordingly?" "But why," said Chrysantas, "should you propose this as a subject of debate, and not announce that you will have it so? Did you not thus announce emulation and promotion?" "But by Jove," said Cyrus, "these matters are not like those; for what the men may acquire by their service, they will, I conceive, be apt to regard as their common property; but the command of the army they naturally allow to be mine, even from the time when we set out from home; so that in regulating the grades of the officers, I believe they do not think that I act at all wrong." "And do you think," said Chrysantas, "that the multitude, when assembled, will ever resolve that every one shall not have an equal share, but that the best shall have the advantage in honours and profit?" "I do think so," said Cyrus; "partly because we shall express our assent to it, and partly because it is infamous to assert, that he who labours most for the public, and does it most service, is not to be thought entitled to the greatest rewards; and I believe

that it will appear advantageous even to the worst of our men, that the best should have the advantage."

Cyrus was desirous that such a resolution should be passed, even for the sake of the Equals-in-honour themselves; for he thought that they would be yet better men, if they knew that they themselves would be judged by their actions, and rewarded accordingly. This, therefore, seemed to him to be the proper opportunity to put the subject to the vote, whilst the Equals-in-honour were dissatisfied with the claim of the multitude to equality of shares. It was therefore thought right by those in the tent to propose a discussion of the subject; and they said, that every one who thought it his part to act like a man ought to assist in settling the question. Upon this one of the centurions said with a laugh, "I know a man, one of the common soldiers, who will agree with us, that this equality of shares, without distinction, ought not to be." Another asked him, "Whom he meant?" He replied, "Truly, he is one of my own tent, who is, on every occasion, seeking to get the advantage of others." Another then asked, "What! in labours?" "No, by Jove!" said he; "here I have been caught in a falsehood; for, in labour and everything of that kind, he very contentedly allows any one to get the advantage of him that will."

"Friends," said Cyrus, "my judgment is, that such men as our friend here mentions, ought to be removed from the army, if we intend to keep it vigorous and obedient. For the greater part of the soldiers appear to me to be such as will follow whither any one shall lead them; honourable and good men certainly endeavour to lead to what is honourable and good; but vicious men to what is vicious; and corrupt men have often more abettors than the well-disposed; for vice, that pursues its course amidst present pleasures, has these pleasures to persuade the multitude to favour her; but virtue, that leads along an arduous path, has not power sufficient for the present, to draw men at once after her, especially if there are others, in opposition to her, inviting them to follow the prone and easy track. Accordingly, when men are vicious from sloth and indolence, I regard them, like drones, as injuring their companions only in the expense of maintaining them; but those who are unfair sharers in labour, but forward and shameless in taking advantage of others, lead men to vicious practices; for they can often show vice to be successful in gaining advantages; so that such men must be entirely removed from among us. Nor must you think of filling up your companies only from your own countrymen; but as, in selecting horses, you look for those that are the best, and not for

those that are of your own country, so you must choose, from among men of all kinds, such as seem most likely to add to your strength, and do you honour. That such a course will be for our advantage, I have these examples to bear me testimony, that a chariot cannot be swift, if slow horses be attached to it, nor can it be fit for work, if vicious ones be yoked to it; nor can a house be well regulated that has bad servants; it even takes less harm by being left without servants, than by being disordered by dishonest ones. And be assured, my friends, that the removal of the vicious will not only be of advantage to you inasmuch as they will be out of the way, but, of those that remain, they who have been imbued with vice will free themselves from it again; and the good, seeing the vicious dishonoured, will adhere to rectitude with much more earnestness." Thus spoke Cyrus, and all his friends agreed with him in opinion, and acted accordingly.

After this, Cyrus began again to jest with them; for, observing that one of the captains had made a man excessively rough and ugly his guest and companion at table, he called the captain to him by name, and spoke to him thus: "Sambaulas, do you take that young man that sits next you, about with you, according to the Greek custom, because he is handsome?" "No, by Jove," said Sambaulas; "and yet I am

pleased with his conversation, and even with looking at him." They that were in the tent, upon hearing this remark, looked at the man, and, seeing that his face was exceedingly ugly, all began to laugh; and one of them said, "In the name of all the gods, Sambaulas, by what service has this man so attached himself to you?" He said, "By Jove, friends, I will tell you; whenever I have called upon him, either by night or by day, he never pretended want of leisure, never obeyed lazily, but always with the utmost despatch; whenever I have ordered him to do a thing, I never saw him execute it without activity; and he has made the whole twelve[3] such as himself, not showing them in word, but in action, what sort of men they ought to be." Somebody then said, "And, being such as he is, do not you kiss him as people kiss relations?" Here the ugly-looking soldier interposed, "No, by Jove, for he is not fond of making great efforts; and if he were to kiss me, it would be equivalent to the greatest efforts."

III.—Such kind of things, both merry and serious, were said and done in the tent. At last, having performed the third libation,[4] and

[3] Twelve men, that is, two companies of five, and a captain of each company.

[4] Xenophon seems to have in his mind the custom of the Greeks, who, at their banquets, used to make libations to their deities, the first being offered, at the commencement of the

prayed to the gods for blessings, they separated and went to rest.

The next day, Cyrus assembled all the soldiers, and spoke to them to this effect: "Friends, the conflict is at hand; for the enemies are approaching; the prizes of victory, if we conquer (for this we ought to say and suppose), are evidently our enemies themselves, and their possessions; and so, on the other hand, if we are conquered, the property of the conquered stands exposed as the reward of the conquerors. Thus then," said he, "you must consider that, if when men are united as associates in war, they have each this feeling in their breasts, that nothing will be as it ought to be, unless each individually act with resolution, they readily accomplish many honourable achievements; for nothing that ought to be done is then neglected. But when every one imagines that there will be another to act and fight, though he himself be remiss, be assured," said he, "that on such men all kinds of difficulties fall at once. The gods themselves have so ordered the course of things; to those who will not impose upon themselves the task of labouring for their own advantage, they give other task-masters. Now, therefore," said he, "let some one stand up, and

feast, to Olympian Jupiter, the second to the heroes, and the third, at the close of the entertainment, to Jupiter the Preserver, or to Mercury the bestower of sleep.

give his opinion on this point; whether he think that virtue will be the better practised amongst us, if he, who will voluntarily meet the greatest toils and dangers, obtain the greatest reward, or if we all see that the worthless man lies under no disadvantage, as we are all to have an equal share?"

Here Chrysantas, one of the Equals-in-honour, a man neither tall nor strong in appearance, but of excellent understanding, rose up and spoke: "I cannot but think, Cyrus," said he, "that you do not propose this subject for our debate, as intending that the worthless should have equal advantages with the deserving, but as desiring to ascertain whether there be a man amongst us that will venture to declare himself of opinion, that though he perform nothing honourable or serviceable, he ought to have an equal share of what is gained by the bravery of others. I am myself," said he, "neither swift of foot nor strong of arm; and, from what I can perform in my own person, I am sure that I cannot be judged to be the first man, nor yet the second, and I suppose not the thousandth, perhaps not the ten thousandth; but of this I am certain, that if those who are men of strength set themselves vigorously to work, I shall have such a share in some advantage or other, as is justly due to me; but if worthless men shall do nothing, and men of

bravery and vigour shall be quite out of heart, I am afraid that I shall have a greater share than I desire of something else rather than advantage." Thus spoke Chrysantas.

After him stood up Pheraulas, a Persian, one of the common people; a man intimately known to Cyrus, and greatly in his favour whilst they were yet in Persia, one who was not uncomely in person, and in mind not at all like a man of low birth; and he spoke to this effect: "O Cyrus," said he, "and all ye Persians here present, I consider that we are all now proceeding to contend with each other in merit on an equal footing; for I see that we all exercise our bodies on like food; that we are all deemed worthy of like society; and that the same honours are set before all of us; for obedience to our commanders is enjoined upon us in common, and I observe that whoever is found sincerely to practise it, obtains honour at the hands of Cyrus; while to act with bravery against the enemy is not a thing belonging to one, and not to another, but stands recommended as most honourable to us all. A mode of fighting,[5] too, is now plainly taught us, which I see indeed that all men naturally know; as all other animals know some method of fighting, and without having

[5] Namely, of defending ourselves, and assailing our enemies, with those weapons which are put into our hands, as bulls use their horns, etc.

learned it from anything else but nature; as the bull to attack with his horn, the horse with his hoof, the dog with his mouth, the boar with his tooth; and all of them know," continued he, "from what animals it is most necessary for them to defend themselves, although they have never had recourse to any teacher. I understood, even from my childhood, how to hold out something before that part of my body on which I thought that I should be struck; and, if I had nothing else, I endeavoured, as well as I was able, by holding out my hands, to obstruct the person that sought to strike me; and this I did not only without being taught, but even though I were beaten for holding out anything before me. When I was a child, wherever I saw a sword, I presently seized it; nor was I taught how to take hold of it by anything else than by nature. This, therefore, I did, not only untaught, but even when hindered; as there are many other things which, though checked in them both by my father and mother, I was necessarily prompted by nature to do. Then, by Jove, I hacked with my sword whatever I could hack secretly; for it was not only natural to me, like walking and running, but, besides its being natural, I thought it a pleasure to do it. Since, therefore," added he, "this kind of fighting is now assigned us, in which there is employment for courage rather than art, how can we con-

tend otherwise than with pleasure against these noble persons the Equals-in-honour, when the rewards of merit lie equally before us, and when we do not go to the trial with equal risk? For they have at stake a life of honour, which is the only truly pleasant life; we only a laborious and ignoble one, which, I think, is one of unhappiness. It greatly animates me, too, my friends, to enter the lists against these men, that Cyrus is to be our judge; a man who judges not partially and invidiously; but I aver, and swear by the gods, that Cyrus certainly seems to me to love those that he finds deserving not less than he loves himself. Accordingly, I observe that he bestows what he has upon such men, with more pleasure than he takes in keeping it himself. However," continued he, "I observe that these men are greatly elevated with having been disciplined to bear hunger, thirst, and cold; not knowing that we have been disciplined to endure the same things, under a much abler teacher than they have been; for there is no more effectual teacher of such matters than necessity, which has taught us to understand them fully. They have exercised themselves in the labour of bearing arms, which have been so contrived by all men as to be borne with the greatest ease; but we," added he, "have been obliged, by necessity, to walk and run under heavy burdens; so that the weight of the arms

which we now bear seems to me rather like the lightness of wings than a burden. Consider, therefore," said he, "O Cyrus, that I shall both heartily engage in this struggle, and that I shall think it sufficient, whatever character I may acquire, if you reward me according to my merit. And I exhort you, my friends of the people, to exert yourselves in this military contention, against these men of discipline; for they are now involved in this popular dispute." Thus spoke Pheraulas; and many others stood up to support them both in their opinion. It was thought fit, therefore, that every one should be rewarded according to his desert, and that Cyrus should be the judge. Thus were these matters brought to a decision.

Cyrus, on one occasion, invited an entire company, together with their centurion, to sup with him. This invitation he gave him, from having seen him forming half the men of his company against the other half, in order to attack each other; both parties having their corselets on, and their shields in their left hands; but to one half he had given thick sticks in their right hands, and the others he had ordered to pick up clods of earth to throw. When they stood thus ready prepared, he gave them a signal to engage; when some of those who threw the clods hit the corselets or shields of the opposite party, others their thighs or legs; but when they

came to close quarters, they who had the sticks applied their blows to the thighs of some, the hands and legs of others, and the necks and backs of such as were stooping for clods; and, at last, those that had the sticks put the others to the rout, and pursued them, laying on their blows with much laughter and diversion. Then the others, in their turn, taking the sticks, assailed in the same manner their opponents, who took their turn in throwing the clods. Cyrus was much struck with these proceedings, with the contrivance of the officer, and the obedience of the men, and was glad that they were at the same time both exercised and diverted, and that those men gained the victory who were armed in a manner like that of the Persians. Being delighted, therefore, at their exercise, he invited them to supper; and observing some of them with their shins and some with their hands tied up, he asked them what had happened to them. They replied that they had been struck with the clods of earth. He then asked them again, whether they were hit when they were close together, or while they were at a distance. They said, while they were at a distance; but those who had the sticks said that, when they closed, it was the finest sport imaginable; while those who had been wounded by the sticks cried out that it seemed no sport to them to be thrashed in such close encounter. They showed the blows

at the same time that they had received from the sticks, both upon their hands and necks, and some in their faces; and then, as was natural, they laughed at one another. The next day, the whole field was full of soldiers imitating this company; and, whenever they had nothing more serious to do, they applied themselves to this diversion.

Cyrus, observing another centurion, on a certain occasion, leading his men from the river, one by one, away to the left; and, when he thought proper, ordering the last twenty-five to advance to the front, then the third, and then the fourth; and, when the captains of twenty-five were all in front, ordering each twenty-five to double their files, upon which the captains of tens advanced in front; and also, when he thought proper, ordering each twenty-five to form four deep, when the captains of five advanced to the head of the men four deep; and, when they arrived at the door of the tent, ordering them to enter, one by one, he first led in the first company, directing the second to follow in their rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and so led them all in; and introducing them in this manner, he made them all sit down to dinner in the order in which they entered; he so much admired the mildness of the man's discipline and his care, that he invited the whole company, together with the centurion,

to sup with him. But another captain, who was present at the dinner, said, "My company, Cyrus, you do not invite to your tent; yet, when they go to dinner, they perform all these manœuvres; and, when the business in the tent is over, the rear leader of the last twenty-five leads out that twenty-five, keeping those in the rear who are ranged in front when in order of battle; then the rear leader of the next twenty-five follows after these; and the third and fourth in the same manner; in order that, when it is proper to lead off from the enemy, they may know how to retreat. And when we draw up in the course where we exercise, when we march to the east, I lead the way, and the first twenty-five moves first, the second in order, and the third and fourth, and the tens and fives of the several companies, until I give orders to the contrary; but," said he, "when we march to the west, the rear leader, and the last men, lead the way in front, and yet obey me who march in the rear, so that they may be accustomed both to follow and to lead with equal obedience." "And do you always do thus?" said Cyrus. "As often," said he, "as we take our meals." "I will invite you, then," said he, "because you practise your exercise both in advancing and retiring, both by day and by night, and both exercise your bodies by marching, and benefit your minds by the discipline. And since you do in everything twice

as much as others, it is but just that I should give you double entertainment." "By Jove," said the centurion, "not in one day, unless you also give us double stomachs." Thus they made an end of that conversation in the tent. The next day Cyrus invited this company, as he had said that he would, and also on the day following. The rest of the soldiers, perceiving this, all imitated that company for the future.

IV.—As Cyrus, upon a certain occasion, was making a general review and muster of his men under arms, there came a messenger from Cyaxares, acquainting him, that an embassy from the Indians[6] had arrived. "Cyaxares, therefore," said the messenger, "desires that you would come as soon as possible, and I bring you from him a beautiful robe; for he wishes that you should present your men in the handsomest and most splendid dress, as the Indians will see how you make your approach." Cyrus, hearing this, gave command to the centurion who stood first in order, to place himself

[6] Many commentators, and among them Hutchinson, have thought that these Indians dwelt in a part of Colchis, which the Æthiopians, oftener called Indians, inhabited. But the manners and wealth, which Xenophon attributes to them, leave us little room to doubt that he meant that people who, in the age of Darius, were either subject to the Persians, or at least attached to them by some bond of alliance, and who inhabited the northern parts of India bordering on the Bactrians; a people whom Alexander, at a later period, attempted to subdue.

in front, bringing up his men in single file behind him, and keeping himself on the right. He ordered him to deliver the same directions to the second, and thus to transmit them along through the whole number. The officers, in obedience to Cyrus, soon communicated the orders, and soon put them in execution. In a very little time, they formed a front of three hundred, for that was the number of the centurions, and the men were a hundred in depth. When they had placed themselves thus, he commanded them to follow as he should lead them, and immediately led them on at a quick pace. But when he found that the avenue, which led to the palace, was too narrow to allow all those in front to move on as they were, he commanded the first thousand to follow in their present order, and the next thousand to follow in their rear, and so throughout the whole, and he himself led on without stopping, while the other thousands followed, each in the rear of that which went before. He sent also two officers to the opening of the avenue, in order that, if any should be at a loss, they might tell them what they were to do. When they came to the gate of Cyaxares, he commanded the first centurion to form his company twelve in depth, and to range the captains of twelve in front around the palace; he directed him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole army. These

manœuvres the soldiers executed; and he himself went in to Cyaxares, in a Persian robe, void of all ostentation. Cyaxares, when he saw him showed pleasure at his expedition, but testified dissatisfaction at the plainness of his dress, and said, "Why is this, Cyrus? what have you done in appearing thus before the Indians? I wished you," said he, "to appear as splendid as possible; for it would have been an honour to me, for you, who are my sister's son, to have appeared with the utmost magnificence." To this remark Cyrus replied, "In which way, Cyaxares, should I have honoured you most, whether if, clothing myself with a purple robe, putting on bracelets, and encircling my neck with a collar, I had obeyed you but slowly, or whether when I now obey you with such despatch, at the head of so numerous and efficient a force, and distinguish myself, for the purpose of honouring you, by such exertion and haste on my own part, and exhibit others so ready to obey you?"

Thus spoke Cyrus. Cyaxares, judging that he spoke reasonably, gave orders to introduce the Indians. The Indians, having come in, said, "That the king of the Indians had sent them, and had commanded them to ask, from what cause the war had arisen between the Medes and Assyrians? and he has desired us," added they, "when we have heard your answer, to go to the

Assyrian king and ask him the same question; and, in the end, to tell you both, that the king of the Indians declares, that, after having ascertained what is right, he will take the side of the injured party." Cyaxares to this said, "Hear then, from me, that we do no injury to the king of the Assyrians; and now go and inquire of him what he says." Cyrus, who stood by, asked Cyaxares, "May I," said he, "say what I think?" Cyaxares bid him do so. "Give the king of the Indians this message, then," said he (unless Cyaxares disapprove), "that, if the Assyrian say he has been in any way injured by us, we declare that we choose the king of the Indians himself to be arbitrator between us." The ambassadors, on hearing this, went their way.

When the Indians were gone, Cyrus commenced an address to Cyaxares, to this effect: "I came from home, Cyaxares, without having much money of my own; and, whatever I had, I have but very little of it left; for I have spent it," said he, "upon the soldiers. Perhaps you wonder how I have spent it on them, when it is you that maintain them. But be assured," said he, "that I have employed it in nothing else but in bestowing rewards and gratuities whenever I have been pleased with any of the soldiers. For it appears to me," said he, "much more agreeable to incite all those whom a man

wishes to make serviceable co-operators in any business, of whatever kind it be, by using fair words, and doing them good, than by trying severe treatment and force. But those that a person would render zealous fellow-labourers in the business of war, I think that he must absolutely court to it both by words and deeds; for such as are to be sincere fellow-combatants, who shall neither envy the good fortune of their commander, nor betray him in adversity, ought to be friends, and not enemies. Having determined thus with myself on these points, I think myself in want of money. Yet to look to you upon every occasion, whom I see already involved in great expenses, appears to me unreasonable. But I think that you and I should consider jointly by what means money may be prevented from failing you; for, if you have plenty, I know that I may take it whenever I have need; especially if I take for such a purpose as, when the money is spent upon it, will be for your advantage. I remember, therefore, having lately heard you say, that the king of Armenia now contemns you, because he hears that the enemy is coming upon us, and neither sends you forces, nor renders you the tribute that he ought to pay." "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "he is acting thus, so that I am in doubt whether it would be better for me to make war upon him, and force him to compliance, or whether it would be for

our interest to let him alone for the present, lest we add him to the number of our enemies." Cyrus then asked, "Are his habitations in places of strength, or in such as are accessible with ease?" Cyaxares replied, "Their habitations are in places that are not very strong, for I have not been inattentive in that particular;[7] but there are mountains to which he may retire, and be in safety for a time, so that neither he, nor anything that he may carry off thither, may fall into our hands, unless we sit down and besiege him there, as my father once did." Cyrus then said, "But, if you will send me, assigning me such a number of horse as may appear sufficient, I think that, with the assistance of the gods, I can make him send you forces, and pay you the tribute. Besides, I have hopes that he will be made more our friend than he is at present." "And I have hopes," said Cyaxares, "that they will sooner come to you than to me; for I have heard, that some of his children were your companions in hunting; so that, perhaps, they may join you again; and if they once fall into our power, everything may be settled as we wish." "Do you not think then," said Cyrus, "that it will be for our advantage to keep it secret that we are forming any such plan?" "Yes," said Cyaxares, "for by this means some or other of them may come into our hands; or if any force

[7] That is, I did not allow them to build strong fortresses.

should fall upon them, they may be taken unprepared." "Listen then," said Cyrus, "whether what I am going to say be of any moment: I have often hunted upon the borders of your territory and that of the Armenians, with all those that were of my company; and I used to go thither also with several horsemen from among my companions here." "By acting in a similar manner now, therefore," said Cyaxares, "you may escape suspicion; but if the force should appear much greater than that with which you hunt, it would soon give rise to suspicion." "But it is possible," said Cyrus, "to frame a very plausible pretence among ourselves; and if somebody should carry a report thither, that I intend to undertake a great hunting match, then," added he, "I might openly request of you a body of horse." "You say very well," said Cyaxares, "but I shall consent to give you but a very moderate number, as I intend to march myself to our garrisons that lie towards Assyria; and indeed," added he, "I want to go thither, to make them as strong as possible. But when you have gone before with the force which you will have, and have hunted for about two days, I can send you a sufficient reinforcement, both of horse and foot, out of those that have been assembled under me; with this you may at once set forward, and I, with the other forces, will endeavour to keep not far from you, that,

if there be occasion, I may make my appearance."

Cyaxares accordingly soon collected horse and foot for the garrisons, and sent on waggons with provisions by the road that led to them. Cyrus offered a sacrifice with reference to the march; and, at the same time, sent to Cyaxares, and asked him for some of the younger horse-soldiers. Cyaxares, though there were multitudes that would have attended Cyrus, granted him but a small number. After Cyaxares had set forward, with a force of infantry and cavalry, on the road towards the garrisons, the omens proved favourable to Cyrus for marching against the Armenian; and he accordingly set out prepared as for a hunting expedition. As he was pursuing his journey, a hare started in the very first field, and an eagle of favourable omen, flying towards them, caught sight of the hare as it ran, and, bearing down upon it, struck it, snatched it up, and carried it into the air, and taking it away to an eminence not far off, did there what it thought fit with its prize. Cyrus, therefore, on seeing this omen was delighted, and paid his adoration to Jupiter, sovereign of the gods, saying to those that were with him, "Friends, our hunt, if the gods please, will be a noble one!"

When he came to the borders, he immediately proceeded to hunt after his usual manner. The

greater number of his infantry and cavalry went in a line before him, in order to rouse the beasts as they came upon them. But the best of his men, both horse and foot, stood here and there dispersed, awaited the beasts as they were roused, and pursued them. They took a large number both of boars, stags, antelopes, and wild asses; for there are abundance of wild asses in those parts even to this day. When he had left off hunting, he went close up to the Armenian borders, and took supper there. The next day he hunted again, advancing to those mountains of which he desired to get possession. When he had again ended his sport, he went to supper; but, as he found that the forces from Cyaxares were advancing, he sent privately to them, and desired them to take their supper about the distance of two parasangs from him, foreseeing that this would contribute to the concealment of his design. When they had supped, he told their commander to join him. After supper, he summoned the centurions to him, and, as soon as they were come, spoke to them thus:

"Friends, the Armenian has been hitherto both an ally and subject of Cyaxares; but now, as he finds that enemies are coming upon him, he contemns him, and neither sends him forces nor pays him tribute. It is he, therefore, that we are come to hunt, if we can. We must accordingly, as it appears to me, proceed in the following

manner. You, Chrysantas, when you have slept a sufficient time, take half the Persians that are with us, pursue your way up the hill, and secure those mountains, to which, they say, the Armenian flees when he fears any danger; and I will give you guides. They say these mountains are covered with wood, so that it is to be hoped you will not be observed. However, if you send, before the rest of your force, some active men, who, both by their number and equipments, may look like marauders, they, if they meet with any of the Armenians, may prevent such as they can take from carrying intelligence; and, frightening away such as they cannot take, may hinder them from seeing the whole army, and make them take measures only as against a band of robbers. You, then," said he, "do thus: I, at break of day, with half the foot, and all the horse, will proceed through the plain straight to the palace. If he oppose us, it is plain that we must fight; but if he retire from the plain, it is evident that we must hasten in pursuit of him. If he flee to the mountains, it must then," said he, "be your care to allow none of those that come towards you to escape you; but to consider, as in hunting, that we are the finders, and that you are the person standing at the nets. Remember, therefore, that the passages must be stopped before the prey is roused; and that those who are stationed at the outlets must

conceal themselves, if they do not wish to turn back the animals coming towards them. Do not however act," said he, "Chrysantas, as you have sometimes acted from your fondness for hunting; for you sometimes occupy yourself the whole night without sleeping; but you must now allow your men to take a moderate portion of rest, that they may be able to resist drowsiness. And do not, because you used to wander through the mountains without taking men for your guides, but pursued wherever the beasts led the way, march now through such difficult places, but bid your guides lead you the easiest way, unless there be one that is much shorter; for, to an army, the easiest way is the most expeditious. Nor, because you can run over the mountains, lead on now at full speed; but proceed only at a moderate pace, so that the army may be able to follow you. It will be expedient, too, that some of the most vigorous and spirited should halt sometimes, and encourage the rest; and when the whole wing has passed, it animates them all to speed, to see the others running by them as they themselves move on at a walking pace."

Chrysantas, hearing this, and being proud of the orders that Cyrus had given him, took his guides, and went his way; and then, having given the proper directions to those that were to attend him in his march, betook himself to

rest. When they had slept as long as he thought sufficient, he proceeded towards the mountains.

Cyrus, as soon as it was day, despatched an envoy to the Armenian, ordering him to deliver this message: "Prince of Armenia, Cyrus desires you to order matters so that you may come and bring, as soon as possible, the tribute and the forces." "If he asks you," added he, "where I am, tell him the truth, that I am upon the borders. If he ask whether I am advancing towards him, tell him the truth on this point also, that you do not know. If he inquire how many we are, bid him send somebody back with you to ascertain." After giving the messenger these orders, he sent him off, thinking it more friendly to act thus than to march upon him without previous notice. Having then arranged his men in the best order, both for speedily accomplishing the march, and for fighting, if it should be necessary, he proceeded on his way. He also gave orders to his men to injure no one; and, if any of them met with an Armenian, to bid him be of good cheer; and to tell every one, that had a mind, to bring them provisions for sale, wherever they might be, whether he desired to sell meat or drink.

THE CYROPÆDIA

BOOK III

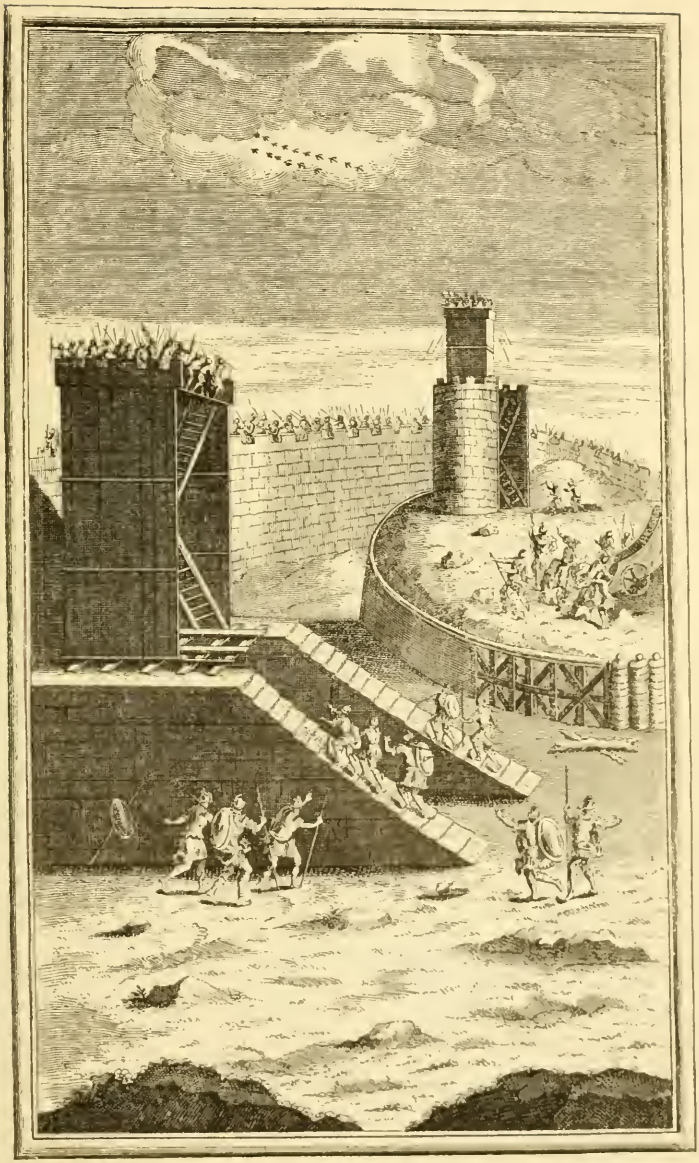
CYRUS attended to these arrangements. The Armenian, as soon as he heard from the envoy the message from Cyrus, was alarmed at it, being conscious that he had acted unjustly, both in failing to pay the tribute, and in not sending the troops. But he dreaded most of all that he should be discovered to have begun fortifying his place of residence, so as to be able to offer resistance. Being in perplexity on all these accounts, he sent round to assemble his forces, and despatched, at the same time, his younger son Sabaris, his own wife, his son's wife, and his daughters, to the mountains, sending with them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, and appointing a force to conduct them. He also sent out scouts to discover what Cyrus was doing, and mustered such of the Armenians as he had with him. Soon after there arrived others, who told him that Cyrus in person was close at hand; when he no longer felt bold enough to come to an engagement, but retreated.

The Armenians, when they saw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own homes, with



Terrasses

Used in Besieging. After an Etching of the Fifteenth Century, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford



intent to put all their property out of the way. Cyrus, seeing the whole plain before him full of people, hurrying hither and thither, and driving off their cattle, sent messengers to assure them that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home, but declared that if he caught any one trying to escape, he would treat him as an enemy. The greater part accordingly remained; some, however, retreated with the king.

But when those who were going forward with the women fell in with those who were on the mountains, they immediately raised a cry, and many of them, betaking themselves to flight, were captured. At last the son of the Armenian king, his wives, and daughters, were likewise taken, as well as all the property that was being carried off with them. The king, when he perceived what had happened, being at a loss which way to turn himself, fled to an eminence.[1] Cyrus, seeing this, surrounded the eminence with the force that was with him, and sending to Chrysantas, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains, and to come and join him. The troops then assembled under Cyrus; who, sending a herald to the Armenian, put the following question to him: "Tell me," said he, "Armenian prince, whether you choose to stay

[1] Presignified by the flight of the eagle to the hill, told of above.

there, and combat with hunger and thirst, or to come down and fight us upon equal ground?" The Armenian answered, "That he did not choose to combat with either." Cyrus sent again to him, and asked him, "Why do you then sit there, and not come down?" "Because I am at a loss," said he, "what I ought to do." "But you ought not to be at a loss," replied Cyrus, "for you are at liberty to come down and submit to be tried." "And who," said he, "shall be the judge?" "He, without doubt," said Cyrus, "to whom the gods have given power to treat you as he pleases without a trial." The Armenian, in consequence, seeing the necessity, came down; and Cyrus, taking him, and all that belonged to him, into the midst of his troops, encamped, keeping his whole force together.

Just at this time, Tigranes, the eldest son of the Armenian king, returned from a journey which he had taken; he who had formerly been Cyrus's companion in hunting. When he heard what had happened, he went directly, just as he was, to Cyrus, and when he saw his father and mother, his brother, and his own wife, prisoners, he wept, as was natural; and Cyrus, on seeing him, gave him no other token of friendship, except saying to him, "You are come opportunely, that you may be present and hear the trial of your father." He then summoned

all the officers of the Persians and Medes, and invited such of the Armenians of rank as were there; the women, too, who were present in their chariots, he did not send away, but allowed them to listen.

When everything was arranged, he began by saying, "King of Armenia, I advise you, in the first place, to speak truth on your trial; so that one fault at least, the most hateful of all, may not be laid to your charge; for be assured, that to be found false is the greatest obstacle that can lie in men's way to obtaining pardon. Besides," continued he, "your children and wives here, and all the Armenians present, are aware of all that you have done; and if they find that you say what is at variance with facts, they will think that, if I discover the truth, you condemn yourself to the severest punishment." "Ask me," said he, "Cyrus, whatever you please, as I am resolved to tell you truth, whatever may happen in consequence of it." "Tell me, then," said he, "did you ever make war with Astyages, my mother's father, and with the rest of the Medes?" "I did," said he. "And when you were conquered by him, did you agree to pay him tribute, to attend him to the field whithersoever he should desire you, and to have no fortified places?" "It was so." "And why then have you now neither brought him tribute, nor sent him troops, and have built fortifications?"

He replied, "I was desirous of liberty; for it appeared to me a noble privilege, both to be free myself, and to leave liberty to my children." "It is indeed noble," said Cyrus, "to fight, in order not to be made a slave; but if a man be conquered in war, or by other means be reduced to servitude, and be found attempting to withdraw himself from the power of his masters, tell me first whether you reward and honour such a one as an honest man, and one that acts nobly, or punish him, if you take him, as one that does wrong?" "I punish him," said he; "for you do not suffer me to speak falsely." "Answer me, then, plainly," said Cyrus, "as to each of the following particulars: if a man be a governor under you, and transgress, do you suffer him to continue in his government, or do you appoint another in his stead?" "I appoint another," said he. "If he is master of great riches, do you suffer him to continue rich, or do you make him poor?" "I take from him," said he, "all that he has." "If you find him revolting to the enemy, what do you do?" "I put him to death," said he; "for why should I die convicted of falsehood, rather than telling the truth?"

His son,[2] when he heard these words, pulled off his turban, and rent his clothes. The women

[2] His younger son, Sabaris; for the elder, Tigranes, appears, from what Xenophon relates, to have been of a firmer mind.

raised a lamentable cry, and began to tear their flesh, as if their father were dead, and themselves utterly undone. Cyrus bid them be silent, and again spoke. "Be it so, Armenian; your answers are just; and what do you advise us to do in accordance with them?" The Armenian was silent, being at a loss whether he should counsel Cyrus to put him to death, or desire him to do the contrary to what he had said that he would do himself.

His son Tigranes then asked Cyrus, saying, "Tell me, Cyrus, since my father seems to be at a loss, whether I shall advise you concerning him what I think best for you?" Cyrus, having observed that when Tigranes used to hunt with him, there was a philosopher associating with him and much admired by him, was very desirous to hear what he would say, and boldly bid him say what he thought. "Then," said Tigranes, "if you approve the measures which my father has concerted, and what he has done, I advise you, by all means, to imitate him; but if you are of opinion, that he has done wrong in everything, my advice is, that you should not imitate him." "By doing what is just, then," said Cyrus, "I shall be as far as possible from imitating him who does wrong." "It is so," said he. "According to your own reasoning, then, I should punish your father, if it be just to punish one who does wrong." "But

whether do you think it best, Cyrus, to inflict punishments for your advantage, or to your prejudice?" "By acting in the latter way," said he, "I should punish myself." "But you would indeed be severely punished," said Tigranes, "if you put to death those that belonged to you, at a time when they would be of the greatest service to you if saved?" "But how," said Cyrus, "can men be of greatest service, when they are proved to have done wrong?" "They would be of service," replied Tigranes, "if they should then become discreet; for this, Cyrus, seems to me to be the case, that there is no profit in any virtue without discretion; for," continued he, "to what purpose could a person use a man of great strength or bravery, but destitute of discretion? or one skilled in horsemanship, or one abounding in riches, or a man of power in his country? But, with discretion, every friend is useful, and every servant valuable." "Do you then intimate," said he, "that your father, from being indiscreet, is become discreet, in this one day's time?" "I do, indeed," said he. "You say then that discretion is a passion of the mind, as grief is, and not a matter of knowledge? For, if it be necessary that he, who is to be discreet, should be knowing, he cannot be turned from indiscretion to discretion in a moment. But, Cyrus," added he, "did you never observe a man, from folly, at-

tempt to fight with another more powerful than himself, and, when conquered, presently cease from his folly in regard to that man? Or, have you never seen one city engage in war with another, and, when conquered, immediately become willing to obey the other instead of continuing the war?" "And to what conquest over your father," asked Cyrus, "do you allude, that you so strongly intimate that he has been rendered discreet?" "That," replied he, "by which he has grown conscious to himself, that, by coveting liberty, he has become yet more a slave than he was before; and that, of the things which he thought to have effected, by secrecy, by surprise, or by force, he has not been able to effect one; while he has seen you, when you wished to deceive him, deceive him as effectually as a person might deceive the blind, or the deaf, or men of no understanding at all; and in matters in which you thought it necessary to use concealment, he has seen you using such concealment, that you have unawares rendered those places prisons to him which he thought were set apart as places of defence; and you have so far exceeded him in despatch, that you have come upon him from a distance with a large force before he had assembled his troops that were just at hand." "Does such a defeat, then," said Cyrus, "such an obligation to acknowledge other men better than themselves,

appear to you to be sufficient to render men discreet?" "Much more," said Tigranes, "than when a man is conquered in battle; for he who is subdued by force, sometimes thinks that, by exercising himself, he may be enabled to renew the combat; and cities, that have been taken, imagine that, by gaining allies, they may renew the war; but to those whom men think better than themselves, they are often willing to submit, though without necessity." "You seem," said Cyrus, "not to think that the insolent can suppose that there are others more discreet than themselves; or thieves, that there are men who are not thieves; or liars, that there are men who speak truth; or unjust men, that there are men who act with justice. Do not you know," continued he, "that your father has, at this time, dealt falsely, and not adhered to his agreements with us, though he knew very well that we violate nothing of what Astyages stipulated?" "But I do not say," replied Tigranes, "that merely to know that there are others better than ourselves, makes men discreet, unless they suffer punishment at the hands of their betters, as my father now suffers." "But your father," said Cyrus, "has as yet suffered not the least harm; though I know very well, indeed, that he is afraid of suffering the severest punishment." "Do you think then," said Tigranes, "that anything humbles men more than

violent fear? Do not you know that those who are oppressed by the sword, which is reckoned the severest instrument of correction, will nevertheless fight again with the same enemy; but that men are unable to look at those whom they thoroughly dread, even when they utter words of consolation to them?" "Do you say then," said Cyrus, "that fear is a heavier punishment upon men than real suffering?" "You know yourself," said he, "that what I say is true; you know, that they who are in fear of being banished from their country, or that are in dread of being beaten when about to fight, are in a most dejected condition. Those who are at sea, and dread shipwreck, and those who fear servitude and chains, are neither able to take food or sleep through terror; but they who are already under banishment, who are already conquered and already slaves, are sometimes in a condition to eat and sleep better than the fortunate themselves. How great a burden fear is, is yet more evident from these considerations, that some, dreading lest they should be taken captive and put to death, have killed themselves beforehand from the oppression of that dread; some throwing themselves headlong from precipices, some hanging themselves, and some dying by the sword; so that, of all things terrible, fear produces the most violent effect on the mind. And in what state of mind, then," added he, "do

you consider my father to be, who is in fear not only for his own liberty, but for mine, for that of his wife, and that of all his children?" Cyrus replied, "It does not appear at all improbable to me, that your father is, at this time, affected as you intimate; but it may be the part, I think, of the same man to be insolent in prosperity, and, when reduced in fortune, to become soon servilely afraid; and yet, when freed from apprehension, to become insolent again, and again to give trouble." "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "our delinquencies give you cause to distrust us; but you are at liberty to build fortresses in our country, to keep possession of our places of strength, and to require from us whatever other pledge you please; and yet," said he, "you will not find us very uneasy under these circumstances; for we shall remember that we ourselves were the cause of them. But if you give up our government to any of those who are free from guilt, and then appear distrustful of them; take care, lest, at the same time that you become a benefactor to them, they may think you no friend to them; and if again, through anxiety not to incur their enmity, you forbear to impose upon them a yoke to prevent them from being rebellious, consider whether it may not hereafter be more necessary for you to bring them to their senses than it has been for you now to bring us to ours." "But by the

gods," said Cyrus, "I seem to myself to have no pleasure in using such servants as I know to serve me from necessity; but such as I consider to perform their duties from friendship and good-will for me, I can more easily endure when they transgress, than such as hate me, and yet, from compulsion, fulfil their duty to the utmost." To these remarks Tigranes replied, "And from whom could you ever secure so strong a feeling of friendship as you may now gain from us?" "From those, I should think, who have never been at enmity with me, if I should but benefit them, as you now desire me to benefit you." "And could you possibly find, Cyrus," said he, "at this time, any one to whom you could grant such favours as you may grant to my father? For example," continued he, "if you grant life to one of those who never did you any injury, what gratitude will he feel towards you for it, think you? Or what man, if you do not deprive him of his wife and children, will love you more, on that account, than he who thinks that he deserves to be deprived of them? Or do you know any one, who, if he shall not have the kingdom of Armenia, will grieve more than ourselves? Accordingly, it is evident that he who will grieve most if he is not king, will feel most gratitude to you if he receives from you kingly power. And if," added he, "you are at all desirous to leave everything here, when

you quit us, in the least possible disorder, consider whether you can expect the country to be more quiet under the commencement of a new government, than if the accustomed government continue. If it be at all an object to you, to draw from hence the greatest possible number of forces, who, do you think, will muster them better, than he who has often made use of them? And if you should want money, who, do you think, will supply you better than he who knows and commands all the resources of the kingdom? Good Cyrus," said he, "be careful, lest, by setting us aside, you do yourself more mischief than my father has been able to do you." To this effect he spoke.

Cyrus was extremely pleased to hear him, for he thought that he should be able to effect all that he had promised Cyaxares to do; as he remembered to have told him, that he thought he should make the Armenian more his friend than before. Soon after, therefore, he asked the Armenian king, "If I trust you in these matters, tell me," said he, "what force will you send with me, and what money will you contribute to the war?" To this question the Armenian answered, "I have no offer to make, Cyrus, more straightforward or more just, than that I should exhibit to you all the forces that I have, and that you, on seeing the whole, should

take with you whatever you will, and leave the rest for the protection of the country. In like manner, with respect to our riches, it is just that I should discover to you all that I have, that, taking account of all, you may carry off what you please of it, and leave what you please." "Proceed, then," said Cyrus, "and show me what forces you have, and tell me what your treasures are." The Armenian replied, "The cavalry of the Armenians amount to eight thousand, and the infantry to forty thousand. Our riches, including the treasure my father left, reckoned in silver, amount to more than three thousand talents."[3] Cyrus then made no hesitation, but said, "Since the Chaldeans, that border upon you, are at war with you, send me half of your forces; and of your treasure, instead of fifty talents, which was the tribute you used to pay, give Cyaxares double that sum, for your failure in paying; and lend me," added he, "a hundred more, and I promise you, that, if the gods prosper me, I will, in return for what you lend me, either do you such services as shall be of greater value, or, if I am able, will pay you back the money again: if I am not able to do it, I may then be considered unable; but unjust I cannot deservedly be accounted." "I beseech you, by the gods, Cyrus," said the Armenian, "do not talk

[3] More than $3,600,000.

in that manner; if you do, you will put me out of heart; but consider," said he, "that what you leave behind is not less yours than what you take away with you." "Be it so," said Cyrus; "but, to have your wife again, how much money will you give me?" "As much as I can," said he. "How much for your children?" "For them, too," said he, "as much as I can." "That, then," said Cyrus, "is already as much again as you have.[4] And you, Tigranes," said he, "at what price would you purchase the recovery of your wife?" Tigranes happened to be but recently married, and to be very fond of his wife. "Cyrus," said he, "to save her from servitude, I would ransom her at the expense of my life." "Take, then, your own," said he: "for I cannot consider that she has been taken captive, since you never fled from us. And do you, king of Armenia, take your wife and children without paying anything for them, that they may know they come free to you. And now," said he, "pray dine with us; and when dinner is over, depart whithersoever you please." They accordingly stayed.

While they were together after dinner in the tent, Cyrus asked this question: "Tell me,"

[4] As much again as the three thousand talents which he said that he had. He had first said that he would give as much as he could for his wife, and, afterwards, as much as he could for his children; and Cyrus, jesting, tells him that he has now promised to give twice as much as he has.

said he, "Tigranes, where is that man[5] who used to hunt with us, and whom you seemed to me greatly to admire?" "He is no more," said Tigranes, "for has not my father here put him to death?" "What crime, then, did he find him committing?" "He said that he corrupted me: and yet, Cyrus, so noble and excellent a man was he, that, when he was going to die, he sent for me, and told me, 'Tigranes,' said he, 'do not bear the least ill-will to your father for putting me to death; for he does it not out of malice, but out of ignorance. And whatever faults men commit through ignorance, I consider them all involuntary.'" Cyrus, upon this, exclaimed, "Alas! for the man!" The Armenian king then said, "They, Cyrus, who find strangers engaged in familiar conversation with their wives, do not put them to death on the charge of endeavouring to make their wives less sensible, but on the conviction that they alienate from them their wives' affection, for which reason they treat them as enemies. And I," continued he, "bore ill-will to this man because he appeared to me to make my son regard him more than myself." Cyrus then said, "By the gods, king of Armenia, I think you have committed a fault incident to human nature; and you, Ti-

[5] The philosopher to whom allusion is made in Tigranes' defence of his father. Xenophon, in representing the character and fate of this sophist, probably had Socrates in his mind.

granes, must forgive your father." Having held this discourse on the occasion, and having treated each other with kindness, as is natural upon a reconciliation, the Armenians mounted their chariots in company with the women, and drove away in good spirits.

When they came home, one talked of Cyrus's wisdom, another of his resolution, another of his mildness; and some spoke of his beauty, and the tallness of his person; when Tigranes asked his wife, "And does Cyrus appear to you, too, Armenian princess, to be a handsome man?" "Indeed," said she, "I did not look at him." "At whom, then, did you look?" said Tigranes. "At him who said that he would pay the price of his own life to save me from slavery." After some conversation of this kind, as was usual, they went together to rest.

Next day the Armenian king sent presents of friendship to Cyrus, and to the whole army; he despatched orders also to such of his troops as were to serve in this expedition, to attend on the third day; and he sent in payment double the sum of money that Cyrus had specified. Cyrus, accepting the sum that he had named, sent the rest back, and asked, "Which of them would command the army, whether his son or himself?" They both answered together, the father thus: "Either of us that you shall order:" the son thus: "I will not leave you, Cy-

rus, even if I should have to attend you as a baggage-carrier." Cyrus, laughing, rejoined, "And for how much would you consent that your wife should hear that you are a baggage-bearer?" "There will be no need," said he, "that she should hear, for I will bring her with me; so that she shall be able to see what I do." "It is then time for you," said he, "to prepare everything for joining us." "Be assured," returned Tigranes, "that we shall join you at the time, prepared with everything that my father affords us." The troops were then entertained, and went to rest.

II.—The next day Cyrus, taking Tigranes with him, and the best of the Median horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, rode round and surveyed the country, examining where he should build a fortress. Going up to a certain eminence, he asked Tigranes what sort of mountains they were from which the Chaldeans came down to plunder the country? Tigranes pointed them out to him. He then inquired again, "And are these mountains now entirely deserted?" "No, indeed," said he; "but there are always scouts of the Chaldeans there, who give notice to the rest of whatever they observe." "And how do they act," said he, "when they receive this notice?" "They hasten with aid to the eminences, just

as each can." Cyrus gave attention to this account; and, looking round, observed a great part of the Armenian territory lying desert and uncultivated, in consequence of the war. They then retired to the camp; and, after taking supper, went to rest.

The next day Tigranes presented himself with everything ready; and with cavalry to the number of four thousand, archers to the number of ten thousand, and as many peltasts. Cyrus, while they were assembling, offered a sacrifice. When the victims appeared favourable, he summoned the leaders of the Persians and Medes; and, when they came together, spoke to them to this effect: "Friends, those mountains that we see belong to the Chaldeans; if we can secure them, and a fortress of ours could be erected upon the summit, there would be a necessity for both the Armenians and Chaldeans to act with discretion towards us. Our sacrifice is propitious; and, for the execution of such designs, nothing favours the inclinations of men so much as expedition; for if we anticipate the enemy, by ascending the mountains before they assemble, we may either secure the summit entirely without a blow, or have to deal with only a few and weak enemies. Of all labours, therefore, there is none more easy or free from danger, than resolutely to bear the fatigue of despatch. Hasten, then, to arms! and you, Medes,

march upon our left; you, Armenians, march half of you on our right, and the other half in front; and you, cavalry, follow in the rear, exhorting us, and pushing us up before you; and, if any one is disposed to relax his efforts, by no means allow him to do so."

Cyrus, having said this, led on, disposing the several companies in files. The Chaldeans, as soon as they perceived that the movement was directed towards the heights, immediately made a signal to their people, and shouted to each other, and ran together. Cyrus then exhorted his troops, saying, "Men of Persia, they make a signal for us to hasten; if we reach the heights before them, the efforts of the enemy will be of no avail."

The Chaldeans had each a shield, and two javelins; they are said to be the most warlike of all people in that part of the world. They serve as mercenaries, if any one requires their services, being a warlike people, and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it yields anything profitable. As Cyrus's men approached the heights, Tigranes, who was riding on with Cyrus, said, "Cyrus, are you aware that we ourselves must very soon come to action, as the Armenians will not stand the attack of the enemy?" Cyrus, telling him that he knew it, immediately gave orders to the Persians to hold themselves in readiness, as they

would have immediately to press forward, as soon as the flying Armenians drew the enemy down [6] so as to be near them. The Armenians accordingly led on; and such of the Chaldeans as were on the spot when the Armenians approached, raised a shout, and, according to their custom, ran upon them; and the Armenians, according to their custom, did not stand their charge. When the Chaldeans, pursuing, saw swordsmen fronting them, and pressing up the hill, some of them, coming up close to the enemy, were at once killed; some fled, and some were taken; and the heights were immediately gained.

As soon as Cyrus's men were in occupation of the summit, they looked down on the habitations of the Chaldeans, and perceived them fleeing from the nearest houses. Cyrus, as soon as the troops were all assembled, ordered them to take their dinner. When they had dined, Cyrus, learning that the spot where the scouts of the Chaldeans had been posted, was strong and well supplied with water, proceeded at once to erect a fortress there. He ordered Tigranes to send to his father, and bid him come with as many carpenters and builders as could be procured. The messenger went off to the Armenian; and Cyrus applied himself to the

[6] Cyrus disguises from his soldiers the want of courage in the Armenians, by representing that they would flee designedly.

building with all the workmen that were with him.

Meanwhile they brought Cyrus the prisoners, some bound, and some wounded. As soon as he saw them, he gave orders to loose those that were bound; and, sending for the surgeons, desired them to take care of the wounded. He then told the Chaldeans, that he was not come either with a desire to destroy them, or with an inclination to make war upon them; but with a wish to make peace between the Armenians and Chaldeans. "Before your mountains were occupied," said he, "I know that you had no desire for peace: your own possessions were in safety; those of the Armenians you plundered and ravaged. But now you see in what condition you are placed. Those of you, therefore, that have been taken, I dismiss to your homes, and allow you, together with the rest of the Chaldeans, to consult amongst yourselves, whether you are inclined to make war with us, or to be our friends: if war be your choice, come no more hither without arms, if you are wise; if you resolve to prefer peace, come without arms. And, if you become our friends, it shall be my care, that your affairs be established upon the best footing." The Chaldeans hearing these assurances, and bestowing many praises upon Cyrus, and giving him many pledges of friendship, went home.

The Armenian king, as soon as he heard of the summons of Cyrus, and his achievement, took carpenters with him, and whatever else he thought necessary, and came to Cyrus with all possible despatch. As soon as he saw Cyrus, he said to him, "O Cyrus, how do we men, able to see so little with regard to the future, attempt to accomplish numberless projects! I, endeavouring upon this occasion to obtain liberty, became more a slave than ever; and, being made captives, and thinking our destruction certain, we now again appear to be in greater safety than ever. For the Chaldeans never ceased doing us all manner of mischief; and I now see them just in the condition in which I wished them to be. And be assured of this," said he, "Cyrus, that to have so driven the Chaldeans from these heights, I would have given many times the money that you have now received from me; and the services which you promised to do us, when you took the money, have been so fully performed, that we appear to be brought under new obligations to you, which, if we are not unworthy men, we shall be ashamed not to discharge; and though we attempt to discharge them, we shall not, even thus, be found to have done anything worthy of regard towards such a benefactor." Thus spoke the Armenian.

The Chaldeans came back, begging of Cyrus

to make peace with them. Cyrus asked them, "Chaldeans," said he, "is it not on this consideration that you desire peace, that you think you will live with more security in peace than if you continue the war, since we are in possession of these heights?" The Chaldeans said that it was so. "And what," said he, "if there should be still other advantages that may arise to you from peace?" "We should be still the more pleased," said they. "Do you not think, therefore," said he, "that you are now a needy people, through being in want of good land?" They agreed with him in this. "Well, then," said Cyrus, "would you wish to be at liberty to cultivate as much of the Armenian land as you pleased, paying the same for it that the Armenians pay?" "Yes," said they, "if we could be sure that we should not be injured." "Would you then, king of Armenia," said he, "be willing that your waste land should be cultivated on condition that the cultivators of it pay you the usual rent?" The Armenian said, that he would give much to have it so; for his revenue would be greatly improved by it. "And you," said he, "Chaldeans, since you have mountains that are serviceable, would you consent that the Armenians should use them for pasturage on condition that the herdsmen pay what is reasonable?" The Chaldeans said that they would, as they would thus be greatly benefited without

any labour. "And would you, king of Armenia," said he, "be willing to make use of the pastures of these men, if by allowing a small profit to the Chaldeans, you might make a much greater profit by it yourself?" "Readily," said he, "if I thought I could use the pastures securely." "And you, Armenians, might use them securely," said he, "if you have the heights to protect you." The Armenian expressed his assent. "But, assuredly," said the Chaldeans, "we should not be able to cultivate in security, either the lands of these people, or our own, if they are in possession of the summits." "But suppose," said Cyrus, "that the heights be for defences to you, Chaldeans?" "Thus, indeed," said they, "things might be very well for us." "But, certainly," said the Armenian, "things will not be well for us, if these men come to be again possessed of the summits; especially when they are fortified." "I will therefore settle matters in this way," replied Cyrus; "I will give up the heights to neither of you, but we will garrison them ourselves, and, whichsoever of you shall injure the other, we will take part with the injured." When both parties heard this proposal, they gave their applause, and said that thus only could the peace be stable. Upon this understanding they gave and received, mutually, assurances of friendship, and agreed that both nations should be independent of each

other; that there should be liberty of intermarriage, and of tillage and pasturage on each other's lands, and if any one should harm them, a defensive alliance between them. Thus were these matters settled on the occasion, and the compacts, then made between the Chaldeans and the possessor of Armenia, subsist to this day. When the agreement was made, they both immediately applied themselves, with zeal, to the erection of the fortresses, as a common security; and jointly brought provisions into them.

When evening came on, he took both parties to sup with him, as being now friends. As they were at supper, one of the Chaldeans said, that these things were such as all the rest of them desired; but that there were some of the Chaldeans who lived by spoil, and who neither knew how to apply themselves to work, nor were able to do it, being accustomed to live by war; as they were always engaged in plundering, or serving as mercenaries, frequently with the king of the Indians, ("for he is a man," said they, "abounding in gold,") and frequently with Astyages. Cyrus then said, "And why do they not now, then, engage themselves as mercenaries to me? for I will give them as much as any other person has ever given them." The Chaldeans approved of this suggestion, and said, that there would be a great many that would will-

ingly engage in his service. These matters were accordingly arranged.

Cyrus, when he heard that the Chaldeans frequently went to serve under the Indian king, and remembered that there were certain persons that came from him to the Medes, to acquaint themselves with the Median affairs, and went thence to the enemy, to get an insight likewise into their affairs, was desirous that the Indian should be informed of what he had done. He therefore began to speak to this effect: "Tell me," said he, "king of Armenia, and you, Chaldeans, if I should send one of my people to the Indian king, would you send with him some of yours, who should direct him on his way, and act in concert with him, so that what I desire of the Indian, may be obtained from him? for I would wish some further addition to be made to my treasure, that I may have the means of giving pay in abundance to such as require it, and to honour and reward such of my soldiers as are deserving. For these purposes I would have plenty of money, knowing that I want it; and to spare your funds would be a pleasure to me; for I now regard you as friends; but from the Indian I would gladly obtain something, if he would give it me. The messenger, therefore, to whom I desire you to give guides and to support, shall speak, when he arrives there, to this

purport: 'King of India, Cyrus has sent me to you; he says that he is in want of money, expecting another army from Persia;' (for indeed I do expect one, said he;) 'if you send him, therefore, as much as you can conveniently spare, he engages, if the gods give a happy issue to his undertakings, to endeavour to make you think that you have decided well in doing him this favour.' This my messenger shall say. You, on the other hand, desire your messengers to say whatever may appear for your advantage. And if we obtain anything from him," added he, "we shall have more abundant resources; if we get nothing, we shall have the consciousness that we owe him no thanks, but that we shall be at liberty, as far as he is concerned, to regulate all our affairs with reference only to our own interests." Thus spoke Cyrus, not doubting that those of the Armenians and Chaldeans that went upon this message, would say such things of him, as he himself desired that all men should say and hear concerning him. Then, when the proper time was come, they broke up the assembly, and went to rest.

III.—The next day Cyrus sent off his messenger, charging him with all that he had before expressed. The Armenian king and the Chal-

deans sent with him such men as they judged most proper to act in concert with him, and to say what was proper concerning Cyrus.

Soon after, Cyrus, having furnished the fortress with a sufficient garrison, and with all things necessary, and left as governor of it a certain Mede, one that he judged would be most acceptable to Cyaxares, departed, taking with him both the force with which he came, and that which he had received from the Armenians, as well as the troops that came from the Chaldeans, who amounted to about four thousand, and thought themselves superior to all the rest.

When he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the Armenians, either man or woman, stayed within doors, but all went out to meet him, being overjoyed at the peace, and bringing out and presenting to him whatever they had worthy of his acceptance. The Armenian was not at all displeased at this conduct, thinking that Cyrus, on receiving such honour from all, would be the better pleased. At last, also, the wife of the Armenian king met him, having her daughters with her, and her younger son; and, together with other presents, she brought the gold which Cyrus had before refused to take. Cyrus, when he saw her, said, "You shall not make me go about doing services for money; but go, madam, and take with you the treasure that you offer me, and do not

give it to the king of Armenia again to bury,[7] but equip your son with it in the handsomest possible manner, and send him to join the army; and, out of the remainder, procure for yourself, your husband, daughters, and sons, those things with which, possessing and being adorned with them, you will pass your days in increased elegance and pleasure; let it suffice for us, when each of us dies, to lay our bodies in the earth." Having said this, he rode on; and the Armenian king attended upon him, as did all the rest, calling him, aloud, "their benefactor, that excellent man!" Thus they did till he had quitted their territory. The Armenian sent a still greater force with him, as he had now peace at home.[8] Thus Cyrus departed, not only enriched with the treasure he had actually received, but having laid up for himself, through his conduct, a much greater store, so that he could supply himself whenever he wanted. He then encamped upon the borders; and the next day he sent the army and treasure to Cyaxares, who was at hand, as he said that he would be. He himself, with Tigranes, and the principal Persians, hunted wherever they met with game, and diverted themselves.

When he came into Media, he distributed

7 It is not previously intimated that the money was buried.

8 He had already furnished Cyrus with a certain number of men, and being now at peace with the Chaldeans, he sends an additional force.

money among his centurions, whatever he thought sufficient for each of them, that they might have the means of rewarding such of those under them as they might think worthy; for he thought that, if every one rendered his own part of the army praiseworthy, the whole would be in excellent condition for him. He himself, wherever he saw anything that might contribute to the beauty of the army, procured it, and distributed it, from time to time, among the most deserving; considering that, whatever his men had that was beautiful and serviceable, he himself received distinction from it all.

When he had distributed among them a portion of what he had received, he spoke, in an assembly of centurions, captains, and all such as he particularly esteemed, to this effect: "Friends, a particular pleasure seems now to attend us, both because some supplies have fallen to us, and because we have resources from which we may reward those whom we wish, and from which you may be distinguished as each may be deserving. But let us by all means remember what sort of actions were the cause of these advantages, for upon examination, you will find that they were watching when it was required, labouring, being active, and not giving way to the enemy. Thus therefore it behoves us to be brave men for the future; knowing that

obedience and resolution, labours and hazards, on proper occasions, produce great benefits."

Cyrus, contemplating in how excellent a condition his men were, corporeally, for sustaining military labours, and how well they were disposed in mind to look with contempt on the enemy, seeing how skilful, too, they were in their proper exercises, each in his own kind of arms, and how well disposed they all were to obey their officers, was eager, from these considerations, to make some attempt on the enemy, knowing that by delay, some part or other of excellent military preparations often comes to nothing in the hands of the commanders. Observing also that many of the soldiers, from desire of distinction in the exercises in which they contended, had contracted feelings of envy towards one another; he was, on this account, desirous to lead them out, as soon as possible, into the enemy's country; knowing that common dangers make fellow-combatants conceive a friendly disposition one towards another; and that, in such circumstances, they neither envy those who are finely armed, nor those that are ambitious of glory, but that such men rather applaud and esteem others that are like themselves, regarding them as fellow-labourers in the public service. Accordingly, in the first place, he completely armed his whole force, and formed it into the best and most beautiful or-

der that was possible. He then summoned the commanders of ten thousands, the commanders of thousands, the centurions, and captains; (for these were exempt from being reckoned in the numbers of the divisions; and when they had to execute any orders from the commander-in-chief, or to communicate any particular directions to others, there was yet no part left without control, but all the other men were kept in order by the commanders of twelves and sixes;)[9] and when all these officers were assembled, he took them round with him, and showed them that all was in proper order, and taught them in what point each of the allies were peculiarly strong. After he had rendered these men also desirous to attempt something soon, he bid them go to their several divisions, teach them what he had taught themselves, and endeavour to inspire them all with a desire of taking the field that they might set forth with all possible ardour. He told them also to be in attendance in the morning at the gate of Cyaxares. They then retired, and did as they were directed.

The next morning, as soon as it was day, the officers attended at the gate; and Cyrus, going in with them to Cyaxares, proceeded to speak to this effect: "I know, Cyaxares," said he, "that what I am going to say has been for some

[9] The same that are elsewhere called captains of tens and fives.

time not less your opinion than it is our own, but perhaps you shrink from expressing it, lest you should seem to be thinking of our departure, as being uneasy at having to maintain us. Since, therefore, you are silent, I will speak both for you and for ourselves; for it appears to all of us, that, since we are prepared, we should not then proceed to fight after the enemy have entered your country, or sit down and wait here in the territory of our friends, but should march, with all possible despatch, into the enemy's country. For now, being here in your territory, we do harm against our will to much of what belongs to you; but, if we march into the enemy's country, we shall with pleasure do mischief to what belongs to them. It is you that now maintain us, and at a great expense; but if we carry the war abroad, we shall maintain ourselves from the enemy's country. If indeed greater danger would await us there than here, perhaps the safer alternative should be chosen; but the enemy will be the same men, whether we wait for them here, or march into their own country and meet them; and we shall be the same in the field, whether we receive them here, as they come upon us, or march up to them and attack them. We, however, shall have the minds of our men in better condition, and more resolute, if we march against the enemy, and seem not to come in sight of them against our

will; and they will have a much greater terror of us, when they shall hear, that we do not, as men in dread, sit at home, and shrink from them; but that, as soon as we perceive them advancing, we march to meet them, in order that we may close with them as soon as possible; and that we do not wait till our own country is ravaged by them, but that we anticipate them by laying waste their lands. And," added he, "if we render them more timid, and ourselves more bold, I think that it will be a great advantage to us; and consider that the danger will thus be rendered much less to us, and much greater to the enemy. My father, too, always says, you yourself say, and all others agree, that battles are decided rather by courage than by strength of body." Thus spoke Cyrus, and Cyaxares replied, "Do not imagine, Cyrus, and you other Persians, that I am at all discontented at maintaining you. To march into the enemy's country, however, appears also to me to be now in every respect the better course." "Since then," said Cyrus, "we agree in opinion, let us get all things ready, and as soon as our sacrifices to the gods express assent, let us set out without delay."

Accordingly they gave orders to the soldiers to have their baggage in readiness. Cyrus then sacrificed, first to Jupiter the king, and afterwards to the other deities; and prayed, that

they would be propitious and benevolent, good guides, supporters, and allies, to the army, and counsellors in whatever was good. He invoked likewise the heroes, who dwelt in and protected the land of Media. When he found the sacrifices favourable, and his army was assembled upon the borders, he at once, meeting with propitious omens, advanced into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites to the Earth with libations, and sought the favour of the gods and heroes that dwell in Assyria with sacrifices. Having done this, he sacrificed again to Jupiter Patrius; and whatever other deity occurred to him, he did not neglect.

When these things were duly performed, they immediately led the infantry a short distance forward, and encamped; and then making excursions with the horse, they captured much booty of every kind. For some time after, too, they continued, while changing their encampments, getting abundance of provisions, and laying waste the country, to wait the approach of the enemy. When they were said to be advancing, and not to be more than ten days' march distant, Cyrus said, "Now, Cyaxares, is the time for us to march and meet them, and not to appear, either to the enemy or to our own people, afraid of advancing against them; but let us make it evident, that we do not come to

battle with them against our will." As this suggestion was approved by Cyaxares, they advanced in order, each day as far as they thought proper; they took their supper always by daylight, and kindled no fires in their camp at night; in the front of the camp, however, they did kindle some, that, by means of them, they might see if any people approached in the night, and might not be seen themselves by those approaching; they also frequently made fires behind the camp, in order to deceive the enemy, so that the enemy's scouts sometimes fell in with the outposts, thinking themselves to be still at a distance from the camp, because the fires were behind.

The Assyrians, then, and those that were with them, as soon as the armies drew near each other, surrounded themselves with a trench; a practice which the Barbarian kings observe to this day. Wherever they encamp, they throw a trench round them with ease by means of the multitude of their hands; for they know that an army of cavalry, especially of Barbarian cavalry, is confused and unwieldy; for they have their horses tied by the feet at their mangers, and, if an enemy comes upon them, it is a trouble in the darkness to loose the horses, a trouble to bridle them, a trouble to put on their housings, and a trouble to fasten their breastplates; and, when they have mounted their

horses, it is absolutely impossible for them to ride them through the camp. On all these accounts, other Barbarians as well as they surround themselves with a trench; and they also imagine, that to be within an intrenchment gives them the power of fighting only when they please. Observing these precautions, they approached each other.

When they had come so near, that they were distant only about a parasang, the Assyrians encamped in the manner before mentioned, in a post intrenched, but open to view; Cyrus, in a place as much concealed as possible, keeping villages and rising ground before him, considering that all things in war that discover themselves on a sudden, are the more alarming to the enemy. And both parties, posting advanced guards, as was proper, went to rest for that night.

The next day, the Assyrian king, and Crœsus, and the other leaders, gave their armies rest in their fortified camp. Cyrus and Cyaxares waited in order of battle, as intending to fight, if the enemy advanced. But as it appeared that the enemy would not stir out of their intrenchment, nor come to an engagement that day, Cyaxares summoned Cyrus and the officers of the other troops to him, and spoke to this effect: "It is my opinion, friends," said he, "that we should advance, in the order in which we are, up

to the intrenchment of these men, and show them that we are ready to come to a battle; for, by this means," said he, "if they do not come out against us, our men will return with an accession of courage, and the enemy, observing our boldness, will be the more alarmed." This was the opinion of Cyaxares; but Cyrus said, "By the gods, Cyaxares, let us by no means act thus; for if we now discover ourselves, and march forward as you desire, the enemy will see us advance without fear, knowing themselves to be in a situation secure from danger; and, when we retire without attempting anything, they, seeing our numbers much inferior to theirs, will conceive a contempt for us, and will march out against us to-morrow with greater resolution. But now," said he, "while they know we are at hand, and do not yet see us, be assured that they do not contemn us, but are solicitous to know what our intention is; and are, I know very well, incessantly occupied in talking about us. But when they come forth, then must we, at once, make our appearance, and come to close quarters with them, taking them at the advantage which we have long desired." When Cyrus had spoken thus, his suggestion was approved both by Cyaxares and the other officers. Then, having taken their suppers, placed their guards, and kindled several fires in front of the sentinels, they went to rest.

The next day, early in the morning, Cyrus, with a crown upon his head, made a sacrifice; and ordered the rest of the officers, Equals-in-honour, to attend the sacred rites with crowns. When the sacrifice was over, Cyrus called them together, and said, "The gods, friends, as the diviners say, and as I myself think, foretell that there will be a battle; they grant us victory, and promise us safety by the victims. I should be ashamed to exhort you what sort of men you ought to prove yourselves on such an occasion; for I know that you understand, and have practised and learned, and are continually learning, the same things as myself; so that you may justly instruct others in them. But if you have not taken into consideration the following particulars, pray listen to me. Those men that we have lately received as our fellow-combatants, and are endeavouring to make similar to ourselves, it is your part to remind for what object we are all maintained by Cyaxares; what exercises we learned, to what exertions we invited them, and in what point they said that they would joyfully be our rivals. Put them in mind, likewise, that this day will show of what every one is deserving; for, in things in which men have been late learners, it is no wonder if some of them have need of a monitor; and it is satisfactory if they can show themselves deserving characters even with admonition. In doing this,

too, you will make trial of yourselves; for he that, upon such an occasion, is able to make others better men, may justly feel conscious of being himself perfectly good; but he who, in such duties, can admonish himself only, and rests satisfied with doing so, should, in justice, account himself but half perfect. The reason why I do not address these men myself, but bid you speak to them, is, that they may endeavour to please you; for you are immediately conversant with them, each of you, in his particular division. And be assured," added he, "that, if you show yourselves to them to be courageous, you will teach them courage, and many more,[1] not by word, but by deed." In conclusion, he bid them go, crowned as they were, to take their breakfast, and after making libations, to come crowned to their posts.

When these were gone, he summoned the captains in the rear to him, and gave them an exhortation to this effect: "You, likewise, men of Persia, have been admitted among the Equals-in-honour, and have been chosen to command the rear, as men who appear to be equal, in other respects, to the bravest, and, by your age, to excel others in discretion. You have, accordingly, a station assigned you, which is not less honourable than that of the commanders in front; for, being placed in the rear, and observing such as are brave, and encouraging them,

[1] The Medes, Armenians, and Chaldeans.

you make them still better men; and, if any one is remiss, you do not suffer him to continue so. Victory, if it be of advantage to any, is advantageous to you, both by reason of your age, and the weight of your military equipments. If they, therefore, who are in front, call to you, and exhort you to follow, obey them; and that you may not be outdone by them in this respect, exhort them, in return, to lead with still more despatch against the enemy. Go, then," said he, "and when you have taken your breakfast, come, crowned with the rest, to your posts." Thus did Cyrus and his men occupy themselves.

The Assyrians, when they had breakfasted, marched boldly forth, and ranged themselves with great spirit. The king himself appointed them their places, driving round in his chariot; and addressed to them an exhortation to this purpose: "Men of Assyria, it is now incumbent on you to be brave men, for you have now to fight for your lives, for the land in which you were born, for the houses in which you were brought up, for your wives and children, and for everything valuable that you possess. If you conquer, you will remain masters of all these as before; if you are defeated, be assured you give them all up to the enemy. As you desire victory, therefore, stand firm, and fight; for it is folly for those that desire conquest, to turn the blind, unarmed, and handless parts of their

bodies towards the enemy by flight. He is a fool, who desiring to live, should attempt to flee, when he knows that the conquerors save their lives, and that runaways meet their death more certainly than they who stand their ground. He also is a fool, who, desiring gain, incurs a defeat; for who does not know that conquerors save all that belongs to themselves, and acquire, in addition, all that belongs to the defeated enemy, but that they who are conquered, throw both themselves and all that belongs to them away?" In such a manner was the Assyrian monarch employed.

But Cyaxares, sending to Cyrus, told him, that now was the time for leading on against the enemy; "for, if there are yet but few," said he, "advanced beyond the intrenchment, by the time we arrive there will be great numbers of them; let us not, therefore, wait till they are more numerous than ourselves; but let us march, whilst we think we may still easily master them." But Cyrus replied, "Unless those, Cyaxares, that we shall defeat, amount to above half the number of the enemy, be assured they will say we, from being afraid of their numbers, attacked but a few of them; while they will not consider themselves defeated, but you will be obliged to fight another battle, in which, perhaps, they may contrive better than they have now contrived, when they give themselves up to us to

portion them out, so as to engage with as many of them as we please." The messengers, on hearing this, went their way.

At this time Chrysantas the Persian came up, and others of the Equals-in-honour, bringing with them some deserters. Cyrus, as was to be expected, put some questions to these deserters as to the state of affairs among the enemy. They told him, that they were already marching out under arms; that the king was come out and was ranging them; and that, as they passed in succession, he addressed to them many warm and earnest exhortations, as those who had heard him, they said, reported. Chrysantas then said, "What if you too, Cyrus, should call the soldiers together, and exhort them, while you have yet time, if, indeed, you may thus make them at all better men?" Cyrus replied, "O Chrysantas, let not the exhortations of the Assyrian king disturb you; for no exhortation, however excellent, can on the instant make the hearers of it brave, who were not brave before; nor can it make those archers, who have not before practised archery, or javelin-throwers, or horsemen; nor can it make those capable of bodily labour, who have not been previously inured to it." "But it is enough," rejoined Chrysantas, "if you can make their minds better by an exhortation." "And can a single word," replied Cyrus, "spoken on the instant, inspire the

minds of the hearers with a feeling of self-respect, or hinder them from doing things mean and base, or influence them to undergo, as they ought, all labours, and to run all hazards, for the sake of praise, or establish firmly in their minds the sentiment, that to die fighting is preferable to saving their lives by flight? If such sentiments," said he, "are to be instilled into men, and to be made enduring, must there not, in the first place, be laws established, by which a life of honour and liberty will be provided for the brave, and an abject, painful, and valueless existence will be allotted to the worthless? Besides, methinks, there must be teachers and governors for these purposes, who may direct men aright, and teach and accustom them to practise such a course of conduct, until it becomes inherent in them to think that the brave and honourable are in reality the happiest of men, and to believe that the vicious and infamous are of all men the most miserable; for thus ought those to stand affected, who are to prove ther discipline superior to the fear of the enemy. But if, at the very time when men are going in arms to the field of battle, and when many are even deprived of the power of using their former acquirements, a man could then, by putting together a set form of words, make men soldiers at once, it would thus be the easiest thing in the world both to learn and to teach the greatest of

the virtues that belong to men. I could not feel certain that the men whom we now have, and whom we have trained under ourselves, would stand firm, unless I saw you here present with them, who will be examples to them, to show them what sort of characters they ought to be, and will be able to remind them, if they forget anything that they have learned. I should wonder indeed," said he, "Chrysantas, if a speech, however finely spoken, should avail with men wholly undisciplined in virtue, to lead them to honourable exertion, any more than a song, however well sung, could profit such as were wholly ignorant of music, so as to make them understand music."

They were engaged in this discourse, when Cyaxares again sent word to Cyrus, that he was wrong to waste time, and not to march immediately against the enemy. Cyrus made answer to the messengers, "Let him be assured," said he, "that as many of them are not yet come out as is desirable; and tell him this, openly, before all; but, since he thinks it proper, I will lead forward this instant." Having said this, and made supplications to the gods, he drew out the army. As soon as he began to put forward with more despatch, he led the way, and the men followed, keeping good order, because they had been taught and trained to march with regularity; inspired with great resolution, because they

were emulous of each other, because their bodies had been inured to labour, and because all their officers were at the head of them; and animated with pleasure, because they understood what they were going about; for they knew, and had long since learned, that it was their safest and easiest course to close at once with the enemy, especially when the enemy consisted of archers, javelin-throwers, and cavalry. While they were yet beyond reach of the enemy's weapons, Cyrus gave out the watch-word, "JUPITER OUR ALLY AND LEADER." When the word came round to him again, he commenced the usual pæan; and all the soldiers devoutly accompanied him with a loud voice; for in such circumstances they who fear the gods are the less in fear of men. When the hymn was over, the Equals-in-honour, marching with alacrity and good discipline, and looking round on each other, calling by name those that were on each side of them, and those that were behind, and frequently crying out, "Come on, friends! come on, brave men!" exhorted one another to follow; while they that were in the rear, hearing this, exhorted the foremost, in their turn, to lead on with resolution. Cyrus had thus an army full of spirit, eagerness for honour, vigour, boldness, mutual exhortation, discretion, and obedience; a state of things which I think most formidable to an enemy.

Of the Assyrians, those who fought from chariots in front, as soon as the body of the Persians drew near, mounted their chariots, and retired to their own body; while their archers, javelin-men, and slingers, discharged their weapons, long before they could reach the enemy. As soon as the Persians came upon these weapons, thus discharged, Cyrus cried aloud, "Now, my brave men, let each of you press on and distinguish himself, and pass this word to the rest." They accordingly passed it; and some, from zeal and ardour, and eagerness to close with the enemy, began to run. The whole body then followed, running; and Cyrus himself, forgetting his slower pace, led them on running, and cried out, at the same time, "Who will follow? who is brave? who will first strike down his man?" The men, hearing this, cried out in the same manner; and the word ran, as he first uttered it, through them all, "Who will follow? who is brave?" In such a spirit did the Persians close with the enemy.

The enemy were unable to stand their charge, but turned, and fled to the intrenchment. The Persians, following them to the entrance, struck down many of them, as they were pushing against each other, and, leaping in after such as fell into the trench, killed men and horses together; for some of the chariots, in their flight, could not avoid falling into the trench. The

Median cavalry, observing this state of things, charged the enemy's cavalry, which gave way before them. Then followed a pursuit of both horses and men, and a great slaughter of both. Those who were within the Assyrian intrenchment, and were posted at the head of it, had, by reason of the dreadful spectacle before them, and of their own terror, neither skill nor ability to do execution with their arrows and javelins, upon those that were making destruction of their people. Learning, too, soon after, that some of the Persians had cut their way through at the entrances of the intrenchment, they turned away, and fled from the higher parts of it. The Assyrian women, and those of their allies, both such as had children, and such as were of the younger sort, seeing that flight had begun even in the camp, raised a cry and ran up and down in consternation, rending their clothes and tearing themselves, and begging of every one they met, not to flee and abandon them, but to stand by them, their children, and each other. The princes themselves, with their most faithful adherents, standing at the entrances of the intrenchment, and mounting on the higher parts, fought themselves, and encouraged the rest. Cyrus, as soon as he saw how things stood, being afraid lest, as they were but few, they should incur some harm from the great multitude of the enemy, if they forced their way in,

gave orders to retreat slowly out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required prompt obedience in so doing. Here a spectator might distinguish the Equals-in-honour, who had been properly disciplined; for they instantly obeyed, and instantly communicated the order to the rest. When they were beyond reach of the enemy's weapons, they drew themselves up in their places, much more regularly than a set of dancers; knowing exactly where each ought to be.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

REC'D MLD
RENEWAL NOV 12 1964
JAN 13 1965
RENEWAL FEB 3 1965
MAIN LOAN DISK
MAR 1 1965
A.M. P.M.
DISCHARGE-URL
APR 13 1981
REC'D LD-URL
FEB 26 1981
REC'D LD-URL
OCT 04 1994
LD-URL MAR 1 1968
INTERLIBRARY LOANS
FEB 16 1968
Barstow College
TWO WEEKS FROM
DATE OF RECEIPT
MAR 26 1968

Form L9-25m-7,'63(D861888)444

3 1158 00510 6132

DF
231
X25E
1909
v.4

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 860 288 0